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A GRAMMAR OF THE VOTIC LANGUAGE

RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE LANGUAGE SCIENCES

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

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A GRAMMAR OF THE VOTIC LANGUAGE

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Published by
Indiana University, Bloomington
Mouton & Co., The Hague, The Netherlands

INDIANA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

URALIC AND ALTAIC SERIES

Editor: Thomas A. Sebeok

Volume 68

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Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 66-64931

All orders from the United States of America and from Canada should be addressed to the Editor, Research Center for the Language Sciences, Indiana University, Patton House, Bloomington, Indiana 47401. Orders from all other countries should be sent to Mouton & Co., The Hague, The Netherlands.

Printed in the United States of America

FOREWORD

This Votic grammar is meant as a college text for all those institutions of higher learning throughout the USSR where Finno-Ugric languages are taught. The publication of such minimum grammars was deemed necessary at the Soviet Union Conference of Finno-Ugric Studies at Leningrad in 1947. Along with grammars for the Livonian and Ingrian languages, the task of compiling a grammar of the Votic language was given to the Tartu State University.

The Votic language has never been organized into a standardized grammar. It was and is still spoken in several sub-dialects which are grouped together into larger units. Such larger groupings are the Eastern Votic and Western Votic dialects, the dialect of the village of Kukkuzi, and the now extinct dialect of the Kreevins. The Western Votic dialect is in turn subdivided into several rather large sub-dialects, such as Kattila, Pummala-Lempola, Mati-Kõrvõttula, Jõgõperä-Luuditsa, etc. At the present time there are all together about one hundred speakers of Votic.

The present work is based on the Western Votic dialect, especially as spoken in Kattila and vicinity. Where necessary, other dialects and sub-dialects have also been taken into consideration. However, no attention has been given to the sub-dialect of the village of Kukkuzi, for it has become Ingrianized to such a degree that it no longer directly reflects the character of the Votic language. Also left completely aside is the Kreevin dialect, which is known but fragmentarily from highly unscientifically recorded annotations.

In writing a Votic grammar it has not been possible to present conventional general forms, as is usual for standardized literary languages. A grammar of the Votic language requires a multiple presentation of several parallel forms in order to give a general idea of the varied dialectal scheme of the language.

This grammar deals with contemporary Votic. Of course, rather extensive collections of materials stemming from the last century have also been taken into consideration. The materials from older collections have been treated with a certain amount of caution, since they often contain rather evident features of the Finnish language, the occurrence of which can be attributed to the fact that the scholars

doing research in the Votic language were native Finns who used Finnish as their basis of analysis.

In the past the grammar of the Votic language has been dealt with in the following works of research:

A. Ahlqvist, Wotisk grammatik jemte språkprof och ordförteckning, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae V 1 (Helsingfors 1856). In this work there are 90 pages which directly deal with the grammar. Ahlqvist's material is significant for the reason that it contains a number of features which have disappeared from present-day Votic or which have become very sporadic. Ahlqvist's material stems from the Kattila sub-dialect.

In 1922 the Vote D. Tsvetkov wrote the work Esimein vaďďa tšeele gramaatikk – Pervaja grammatika voďskogo jazyka about the Jõgõperä sub-dialect. Because of the early death of the author the work was left unrevised and unpublished. The complete 55-page manuscript has been deposited in the archives of the Language and Literature Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR. Examples in the manuscript reflect the Jõgõpära Votic as Tsvetkov personally used it.

The above-mentioned two works are the only previously written treatises dealing extensively with Votic grammar. Individual aspects of Votic grammar, however, have been touched upon by various authors either as separate topics of research or in combination with other linguistic problems. Of such works M. Airila's 'Vatjan kielen taivutusoppi, I: Nominien taivutus', Suomi V 17 (Helsinki 1934) deserved mentioning. This 55-page work offers much material derived from all available sources, but is quite superficial in its analysis. More abundant material is presented in L. Kettunen's Vatjan kielen äännehistoria, first and second printing (Helsinki 1915 and 1930 respectively). All collections of Votic texts are, of course, extensive sources of material. Concerning the phonology of one Votic sub-dialect the following article by T. R. Viitso should be mentioned: 'Vadja keele Luutsa-Liivtšülä murraku fonoloogia', Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat VII (Tallinn 1961).

The grammar presented herewith is based on the author's own recordings of the Votic language interlaced with materials from the above-mentioned studies and from text collections.

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PHONOLOGY

§ 1. The Votic language has 10 vowels, namely:

	Back vowels	Central vowels	Front vowels	Front labial vowels
High	u	ị	i	ü
High-mid	o	ɐ	e	ö
Low	a		ä	

The pronunciation of Votic back vowels, whether in the main stress position of a word or in subsequent syllables, is more or less analogous to the pronunciation of corresponding Estonian vowels, e. g. kana 'hen', паʌava 'hot', appanɐB 'it turns sour', orko 'valley', kotikko 'sack', kotona 'home', kusutan 'I extinguish', ujumā 'to swim', urpa 'catkin'.

Of the central vowels, ɐ is similar to Estonian õ. In some villages Votic ɐ is formed somewhat higher than its Estonian counterpart. The difference, however, is so slight that acoustically the increase in height does not appear to be worth mentioning, e. g. vɐrkko 'net', ɐhtago 'evening', ɐrrɐʌʌa 'perch, pole for roosting (adess.)', ʌumɐkaZ 'snowy', juttɐʌɐB 'he says'. The high central vowel ị gives an acoustical impression similar to that of Russian ы. This vowel represents a borrowed phone which occurs only in loanwords taken from the Russian language, e. g. riŋkoiʌ 'market place (adess. pl.)', vịšifka 'embroidery', štobị 'that, so that'.

The formation of the front vowels ä, e, and i is similar to the formation of the Estonian front vowels ä, e, and i, e. g. tämä 'he, she, it', pesä 'nest', ätälä 'aftermath, after-crop'; terve 'healthy, whole', pettelen 'I deceive, lie', tšünnettü 'plowed'; sika 'pig', tširjotan 'I write', sɐrmi 'finger', juttɐlin 'I said'.

The labial front vowels ö and ü also resemble their Estonian counterparts, e. g. tšöhä 'a cough', mörizeB 'he mutters, mumbles', tüttö 'girl', tšülä 'village', lühüD 'short', süntünüD 'born (pl.)'.

In general, Votic vowels are pronounced with full articulation in whatever position they may occur, stressed or unstressed. Dialectally (in the Eastern Votic area, around the region of Jõgõperä) particularly the low vowels a and ä may be reduced in unstressed syllables, provided that the first syllable is long. Reduction may also occur in any syllable of a long word, regardless of whether the syllable is stressed or unstressed e.g. paikkɐ 'place, spot', annɐ 'give (sing.)', annɐmmɐ 'we give', ɐhsɐ 'branch', pajattivɐD 'they talked', tulittɐ 'you (pl.) came' juttɐ̄vɐD 'they say'; tšättɐ̱ 'hand (part.)', jäivɐ̱D 'they remained', tüttɐ̱reD 'daughters', tetšemissɐ̱ 'doing (noun, part.)' (Jõgõpära). Reduced vowels may even be voiceless, e.g. tšühsettn̥ 'baked', tšültš̥ 'side'.

§ 2. All of the ten vowels presented above can also occur long. Long vowels can occur in syllables having main, secondary, or no stress:

ā: sāmā 'to get, obtain', āpa 'aspen tree', antagā 'give! (pl.)', tširjottamā 'to write';

ō: kōri 'skin, peel, bark', kotō 'home (ill.)', tüttärikkō 'girl (ill.);

ū: kūɲɐn 'I hear', murtūmā 'to break (intr.)', ɐmɐhtūB 'it grows moldy';

ɐ̄: vɐ̄raZ 'stranger', ɲɐ̄kku 'a swing', juttɐ̄B 'he says', tūɲɐ̄sɐ̄ 'wind (ill.)';

ī̱: kit-rī̱ba 'whale';

ǟ: pǟ 'head', tätǟ 'to know', ämärǟ 'dim, dusky (part.)';

ē: sēmeneD 'seeds', mēlē 'mind (gen. & ill.)', vērettēB 'it rolls';

ī: īri 'mouse', sɐrmī 'fingers (gen.)', ɲukɐmī̱n 'reading (noun)';

ō̄: tō̄ 'work', sō̄mmǟ 'we eat', tüttō̄ 'girl (ill.)';

ū̄: tū̄ni 'quiet, calm', vǟntū̄B 'it winds (intr.)', süntünū̄D 'born (pl.)'.

In the Jõgõperä-Luuditsa sub-dialect, as a result of sandhi, non-initial syllables can have half-long vowels occurring in the place of long ones, e.g. pajatɐ̆tä 'it is said', püsŭ̀kä 'gun (com.)', vennèz 'cistern, tank (iness.)'.

Dialectally the mid vowels ē, ō, and ō̄ have changed to diphthongs (here and there in the Eastern Votic area, in villages in the vicinity of Kattila, and in the village of Pontizõõ). Diphthongization has probably resulted from the influence of neighboring Finnish dialects. In the vicinity of Kattila the diphthongs ie, uo, and üö occur in the main stress position of a word; elsewhere in the word, however,

they appear as i̯ɐ̀, u̯ò, and ü̯ò, e.g. tie 'road', tuomma 'we bring', tüö 'work'; mehelɐ̯̀ 'man (all.)', kotù̯ 'home (ill.)', tüttǜ̯ 'girl (ill.)'. In the village of Pontizõõ the corresponding diphthongs are ìe, ùo, üö and ie, uo, üö, e.g. tìe 'road', sùo 'marsh', tüö 'work', mehelie 'man (all.)', kotuo 'home (ill.)', etc. In villages around Kattila long ǟ and long ɐ̄ have become diphthongized also, e.g. pɛä 'head', pitɛ̆ä̀ 'to keep, retain', vɐ̀ɐraZ 'stranger', sūrɐ̂ɐ̀ 'big (gen. & ill.)'.

§ 3. The Votic language has an abundance of various diphthongs. In addition to those that have originated from long mid vowels, diphthongs occurring in main stress position are as follows:

ɐa: sɐaza 'war (iness.)';

üe: lüettä 'handle of a scythe (part.)';

uɐ: juɐɲɲa 'to say';

ai: nain~nainɐ 'woman', ɲaizgaD 'lazy (pl.)';

oi: koira 'dog', oitā 'to economize, spare';

ui: puita 'trees (part.)', suissa 'mouths (elat.)';

ɐi: sɐizon 'I stand', pɐippɐ 'chicken';

äi: päivä 'day', väittǟ 'to drag, pull';

ei: leipä 'bread', eittū̱B 'he is frightened, alarmed', sein 'I ate';

öi: öitä 'nights (part.)', töitä 'works (part.)';

üi: rüiZ 'rye', püitä 'partridges (part.)';

ao: maoD 'snakes';

io: siottu 'tied (past passive participle)';

uo: kuottu 'knitted, woven (past pass. part.)';

au: ɲauɲu 'song', ɲautta 'shed, stable';

ou: (dialectally) toukkämma 'we push', ɲounɐD 'south, midday meal';

ɐu: ɲɐuka 'chin', pɐuta 'drought';

eu: (dialectally) jeutua 'to occur, happen', peukaɲo 'thumb';

iu: riuku 'rod, shaft', tšiutto 'shirt';

iä: piän 'I must', siällä 'over there';

üä: süämmezä 'heart (iness.), inside';

äü: tšäümǟ 'to go, walk', täünǟ 'full';

eü: leütǟ 'to find', leülü 'steam in a bathhouse';

öü: (dialectally) löülü 'steam in a bathhouse', löütännü 'found (past active part.)'.

The following diphthongs can occur farther on in the word, in non-stress positions:

oa: aɲkoa 'stick of firewood (part.)', tüttärikkoa 'girl (part.)';

ua: lintua 'bird (part.)', kuttsua 'to call, invite', kaivua 'well (part.)';

ęa: kurkęa 'stork (part.)', kęrkęa 'high'. Dialectally ęą can occur instead of this diphthong: kęrkęą 'high'.

ia: varęhsia 'crows (part.)', ęttsia 'to look for';

au: makauZ 'a sleeping place', ę̄rtauB 'it rubs (intr.)';

ęu: sępęumā 'to get dressed', avęuzivaD 'they opened (intr.)';

äu: lisäugō 'let it increase', peittäugā 'get hidden'; (pl.)';

eu: ehteugā 'adorn, embellish yourselves';

iu: kasiumā 'to clean (intr.)', rūmiuZ 'corpse, dead person'.

iä: tätiä 'aunt', pimiä 'dark', vätšiä 'people (part.)'. Dialectally iɛ can occur instead of this diphthong: tätiɛ 'aunt';

öä: tüttöä 'girl (part.)';

üä: eittüä 'to be frightened, alarmed', leülüä 'bathhouse steam (part.)';

ai: varkaita 'thieves (part.)', ampaissa 'teeth (elat.)', vaďďaлlain 'a Vote', pikkaraizęD 'small (pl.)', antaizin 'I would give';

oi: kotoita 'houses, homes (part.)', akanoissa 'chaff (elat. pl.)';

ui: tuллuita 'those who have come (part.)', jōpunnuisia 'the drunken ones (part.)', issuizin 'I would sit';

ęi: takumęin 'the rear one', ōnęiza 'buildings (iness.)', kęrkęiлlę̄ 'the high ones (all.)', panęissi 'he would put';

äi: seipäitä 'stakes, poles (part.)', mättäilē 'pieces of turf (all.)', jättäissi 'he would leave (trans.)';

ei: pimeitä 'the dark ones (part.)', lähteizä 'springs, sources (iness.)', tänäveizeD 'those of today';

üi: lühüitä 'short ones (part.)', süntünnüitä 'those that have been born (part.)', tšüsüizin 'I would ask';

äü: lisäümā 'to increase, add to';

eü: ehteümī̄n 'self-embellishment';

iü: sättiün 'I am adjusting, fixing myself up'.

All of the diphthongs here presented are phonemic. Regarding their pronunciation, there is no difference between older Balto-Finnic diphthongs and the later ones which have developed from contractions.

§ 4. Characteristic of Votic is vowel harmony. If a back or central vowel occurs in the first syllable of a word, neither labial nor non-labial front vowels can occur in the following syllables. An exception is the vowel i which can occur in both front- and back-vowel words, e g. akkunaD 'windows', sopizimma 'we got along', kussua 'to call, invite', tęrvakkaiлlę̄ 'tarry, full of tar (all. pl.)', sika 'pig'. If, however, the first syllable has ä, e, or ö, ü, then neither back nor central vowels can occur in subsequent syllables,

e. g. tšäsīllä 'hands (adess.)', seppä 'smith', pitämā̄ 'to keep, hold', tšöhä 'a cough', süntünnü 'born', tšälü 'wife's sister', tüttö 'girl', merelē 'sea (all.)', tšülleš 'side (elat.)'.

In respect to the occurrence of front vowels, however, Votic does have many exceptions. There are various derivational suffixes which always have back vowels. The occurrence of the labialized front vowel ö in non-initial syllables is specifically characteristic only of loanwords from either the Ingrian or Finnish dialects; or else its usage has spread after the pattern found in these dialects, e. g. tüttö 'girl', lähtö 'departure', tšülvö 'sowing (noun)' (Jõgõperä), itšävöimĕä 'to long for' (Lempola). In general even those Votic words that have a front vowel in the first syllable always have o in subsequent syllables, e. g. tüttärikko 'girl', ämärikko 'dusk', mäŋko 'game', pā̄sko 'swallow', pālikko 'leader'. Consequently, suffixes ending in o, as for example -likko, -zikko, -tō, etc., do not conform to the general rules of vowel harmony, e. g. pettelikko 'deceiving (noun)', petäzikko 'pine grove', leppäzikko 'alder grove', pātō 'headless' (dialectally in the Eastern Votic area pātū), tōtō 'without work'. Furthermore, the following derivational suffixes always have back vowels:

-kā: leivākā 'bread (com.)', jürūkā 'thunder (com.)', keräjākā 'beggar (com.)';

-kaz: verekaZ 'bloody', pīmäkaZ 'milky, rich in milk';

-kkęin: päivükkęin 'sun', tüttärikkęizęлlę̄ 'girl (dim., all.);

-лain: venäлain 'Russian' (alternatively venäläin occurs);

-nikka: ōnikka 'night lodger';

-ssā: tšülāssā 'up to the village', nätilpäivāssā 'up until Sunday';

-ttoma-: viďďettomā 'of the fifth';

-ko: pesiko? 'did he wash?', emmäko? 'not we?, not even we?';

-kā/-gā: sōkā 'eat! (pl.)', älkā nagragā 'don't laugh! (pl.), lämmittägā~lämmittagā 'make heat! (pl.);

-kō/-gō: sōkō 'let him eat', lühsägō~lühsagō 'let (him or) her milk', jättägō~jättagō 'let him leave (trans.)'.

In addition there are onomatopoetic words where vowel harmony does not occur. After all, onomatopoetic words follow completely different rules from the remainder of the vocabulary, e. g. rākumā 'to shout, yell', rāgahti 'he gave out a yell, gave a shout'.

The more recent loanwords do not conform to the rules of vowel harmony, e. g. kl'ättsa 'dried up, withered old person', rātua (~rātüä)mō 'by lines, rows', jätaži 'story of a building'. Also, the more recent loanwords have e instead of ę in back vowel words, e. g. munderi 'uniform', karetti 'carriage, coach', puteli 'bottle'. Moreover, e can occur in the genitive plural: ōnejē 'buildings (gen.)'.

Particular attention should be given to the words kase 'this' and kane 'those', which have no vowel harmony. These words are shortened compound words. Compounds retain the vowel harmony pattern of their components. Exceptions are found only in the case of a few shortened words such as ähü(p)pälē '(to) on top of the oven/stove' (<*ahjon pällen).

§ 5. In Votic the quantity of both short and long vowels as well as that of diphthongs is close to the vowel quantity of Finnish. All those features of quantity which appear in Finnish are characteristic of Votic also. Estonian quantity relations are quite different. However, the quantity system of Votic is close to the quantity system of the Northeastern Estonian dialects.

Unlike Estonian, Votic diphthongs and long vowels have no quantity gradation. Instead, the quantity remains constant in cases where Estonian would distinguish between strong and weak grades.

Long vowels in non-initial syllables of the Jõgõperä sub-dialect are quite flexible in respect to quantity. If a word occurs in an unstressed position, the long vowel of the non-initial syllable may be reduced to half-long, or it may even become completely short, e.g. ennevanaš‿tšäütĭ meisʊ for ennevanaš‿tšäütī meisā 'in olden times one went to the manor'.

§ 6. Apocope, which is characteristic of Estonian, is unknown in the Votic language. In certain cases, however, the final vowel may be dropped. The final vowel may be omitted in those words which are used especially often, and which are therefore assumed to be understood even in rapid speech, e.g. sūri~sūr 'big', nōri~nōr 'young'. Apocope may occur in case endings when the same ending is repeated: tämä eläp‿sūrẹš‿tšüläzä 'he lives in a big village', but tämä eläp‿sūrẹza tšüläzä 'he lives in a big (not a small) village'. If a compound word has phonetically changed completely into a single word, the final vowel of the first component word may disappear, e.g. raut-ätšēllä 'iron harrow (adess.)', raut-nẹkẹzẹD 'stinging nettles', nahk-īri 'a bat', tamm-open 'mare', ait-seiväZ 'a fence pole', tẹis‿kertā 'second time (part.)', etc. for rauta-ätšēllä, rauta-nẹkẹzẹD, nahka-iri, tamma-open, aita-seiväZ, tẹissa kertā.

In the Jõgõperä-Luuditsa sub-dialect apocope is more general than elsewhere. There the final vowel of a word may often disappear as a result of sentence sandhi, e.g. tulim kottō 'we came home', poik meni lidnā 'the boy went to town' for tulimma kottō, poika meni lidnā.

§ 7. In its consonant system, the Votic language differs quite substantially from the closely related Estonian and Finnish languages. The following are the consonants of Votic:

Glottals			Orals			Labials
h			Velars	Palatals	Dentals	
	Stops	Voiceless	k		t	p
		Voiced	g		d	b
	Nasals	Voiceless				
		Voiced	ŋ		n	m
	Spirants	Voiceless fricatives	x	š	s	f
		Voiced fricatives		j ž	z	v
		Voiceless laterals				
		Voiced laterals		ʟ	l	
		Voiceless trills				
		Voiced trills			r	
	Affricates	Voiceless		tš ʂʈʂ	ts	
		Voiced		dž		

The Votic fortis voiceless stops k, p, and t are unaspirated, and may occur in all positions. They correspond to the voiceless stops of Finnish and the Northeastern Estonian dialects in articulation as well as in acoustical effect, e.g. kana 'hen', kẹhta 'right away', pata 'clay pot (for cooking)', pīmä 'milk', tē 'tea', talvi 'winter', makẹa 'sweet', aŋko 'pitchfork', orko 'valley', kupo 'bale, bundle', leipä 'bread', kumpa 'which of two, who', sata 'hundred', ranta 'shore, edge', mẹrta 'weir', tširjotamma 'we write', tüttärikossa 'girl (elat.)', sūrẹpi~sūrẹp 'bigger'.

The lenes b, d, and g are completely voiced stops as in Russian, e.g. brūda 'pond', bābuška 'grandmother', börizemā 'to roar, rumble', bulipä 'bald headed person', truba 'chimney, pipe', kabja 'hoof', sẹbra 'friend', bābukaz 'raspberry', dabuni 'herd of horses', dovarišša 'comrade', doro 'acorn', durizẹB 'it rattles, rumbles', pẹdra 'elk', tšedrätä 'to spin', tädiD 'aunts', mōda 'style, manner', vẹdna 'lamb', gāda 'snake, serpent', guľu 'dove', jalgaD 'feet', kagla 'neck', tagon 'I hit, pound', kaŋgaZ 'material, cloth', laizgaš 'lazy (elat.)'. In absolute word-final position b, d, and g are voiceless, e.g. annaB 'he gives', annaD 'you (sing.) give', annaG 'give! (sing)' (in Eastern Votic). The lenis voiceless stops of Votic resemble those of Estonian in both formation and sound.

The velar nasal ŋ appears only as a combinatory phone before g and k, e.g. kaŋgaZ 'cloth, material', aŋgẹš 'snow drift (elat.)', paŋkẹ 'bucket', lohaŋka 'tub'. The nasals n and m, however, are completely phonemic, e.g. ono 'uncle', open 'horse', ema 'own', lehmä 'cow', ẹssamā 'to buy'. In respect to articulation, all of the nasals are similar to Estonian nasals.

The velar, or more precisely, velar-palatal fricative x is formed at the same point of articulation as k and g. The only difference is that x is produced by friction at the same point where g and k have a complete stoppage of air. x occurs primarily in Russian loanwords, e.g. xolostoi 'unmarried person', xramoi 'one who limps', grōxatti 'sifter', staruxa 'old woman'. Also, x can occur in the beginning of loanwords taken from the Ingrian and Finnish dialects, e.g. mettsä-xāmo 'forest spirit', xāmolain 'devil' (Estonian vanapagan), xōnopōl 'devil' (Kattila region). x does not appear in the original Votic vocabulary. Instead, the phone h occurs, which is entirely voiceless before voiceless phones but otherwise has a certain degree of voicing. Any kind of h is still a glottal phone, as is also the Estonian h, e.g. haili 'small herring', hävittā 'to waste, destroy (trans.)', iho 'skin, body', voho 'goat', ẹhtago 'evening', nagrahtīmma 'we smiled', ühsi 'one', lahsi 'child', varẹhsia 'crows (part.)'.

The palatal fricative j is much more intensive in Votic than in Estonian. In Votic j is not a semi-vowel, as it is in Estonian, but a real fricative, e.g. jä 'ice', jagan 'I distribute', sōjẹtan 'I warm (intr.)', ujun 'I swim', ẹmpẹlija 'one who sews', marja 'berry', tühjä 'empty'.

The voiceless palatal sibilant š and its voiced counterpart ž occur only in loanwords taken from either the Russian or the Ingrian language, and in onomatopoetic-descriptive words. The articulation of š and ž is equivalent to Russian ш and ж, respectively, e.g. šolkka 'silk', bābuška 'grandmother', kukšina 'mug', šōru 'animal penis', karjušiD 'shepherds', šumizẹB 'it rustles, hums', širizeB 'it ripples, trickles', šuppulehoD 'burdock leaves'; ženixa 'bridegroom', obižoittā 'to insult', kurāžittāB 'he boasts, brags', leživäD 'they lie, recline', Mažalē 'to Maša (proper name)'.

In its formation the dental sibilant s is similar to Estonian s. However, the Votic s is not similar to its Finnish and Ingrian counterparts, which are formed farther back in the mouth, e.g. sarja 'bunch', sū 'mouth', tšüsüä 'to ask', vaddalaisia 'Votes (part.)', ōnẹsẹ 'building (ill.)', musaD 'black (pl.)', mēspōlẹD 'men, menfolk'. The voiced counterpart of s is z, e.g. zemľäŋka 'mud hut', sẹzar 'sister', vẹzoD ' sprouts, offspring', tšedräzivädD 'they were spinning', opẹzẹD 'horses', varzikko 'knee boot', tšäznä 'knot on a tree, gnarl', razva 'fat', kazgẹD 'birches', lidnaza 'town (iness.)'. In absolute word-final position z is voiceless, e.g. vẹraZ 'stranger'. This voiceless Z is equivalent to Estonian lenis s.

The laterals l and l are actually in complementary distribution. In combination with back and central vowels the so-called Russian l occurs; with front vowels l is found. Of these laterals, l is similar to the Russian л, and l to the Estonian l, e.g. lahsi 'child', lukẹa 'to read', kala 'fish', eluD 'beer', purẹlẹvaD 'they bite one another, fight', leppä 'alder', litši 'near', elä 'to live', pettelivädD 'they deceived, lied'.

The voiced trill r is articulated like the Estonian or Finnish r, e.g. rokka 'cabbage soup', repo 'fox', purẹB 'it is biting', tširjotan 'I write', sārni 'ash tree', tappuraD 'tow, oakum'.

The voiceless labio-dental fricative f occurs only in loanwords, e.g. ufatka 'stove poker', fs'oravno 'nevertheless', frovva 'Mrs.', Marfa 'Martha (proper name)'. As a partial assimilation, very often the bilabial fricative ɸ occurs in the word ühsi 'one', thus: üɸsi. The voiced labio-dental fricative v is formed more intensely than its Estonian counterpart. Namely, in the formation of the Votic v the lower lip is pressed rather tightly against the upper teeth, e.g.

velli 'brother', varai 'early', süvä 'deep', päivikko 'sun', uлvoB 'it howls', tulivaD 'they came'.

The voiceless hard palate affricate tš is a common phone in Votic. Its formation differs quite noticeably from the formation of the Russian ч. Namely, Votic tš is articulated with less palatalization and farther back in the mouth than its Russian counterpart, e.g. tšako 'cuckoo', tšäsi 'hand', tšülä 'village', kurtši 'stork', saintši 'and I got it', kahtši 'birch', pühtšiä 'to sweep, seltšä 'back'. The voiced counterpart of tš is dž, which occurs mainly in the Eastern Votic sub-dialects, e.g. redžeD 'sledges', audžiD 'pikes (fish)', mändžämmäG 'we play'.

The affricate štš is characteristic primarily of Russian loanwords. Its formation is similar to that of Russian щ, e.g. štšetina 'mane, tuft, bristle'.

The affricate ts is alveo-dental, e.g. kutsun 'I call, invite', metsässä 'forest (elat.)'.

§ 8. Most of the consonants presented can also appear as geminates:

kk: kukkę 'rooster', vaikko 'resin', tüttärikko 'girl', лapakko 'mitten';

tt: kotti 'bag, sack', лautta 'cattle shed', лagotętty 'spread out (past pass. participle)';

pp: appanęmā 'to turn sour', rōppa 'porridge';

nn: konna 'frog', linnuD 'birds', magannu 'slept (past act. participle)', tševännä 'spring (season) (ess.)';

mm: kumma 'wonder, miracle', nęmmi 'heath', annamma 'we give', sāmma 'we get';

jj (sub-dialectally): vijjä 'to carry, take', rijjęллa 'to quarrel';

šš: jaššikka 'box, chest', karjušši 'shepherd';

ss: mässān 'I stir, disturb', mussa 'black', aivasęлęn 'I sneeze, keep sneezing';

zz: lezzessi 'widow (transl.)';

žž (sub-dialectally): ležžeD 'widows';

лл: aллa '(at) under', villa 'wool', poigaлla 'boy (adess.)', tüttärikoлla 'girl (adess.)';

ll: ellütän 'I pamper, coddle', tšellä 'clock, bell', tšülällä 'village (adess.)' jänehsellē 'rabbit (all.)';

rr: kęrrā 'once', varrękā 'stalk, handle (com.)';

ff (sub-dialectally): uffatka 'stove poker';

vv: tuvva 'to bring', levvän 'I find', ęvvi 'yard (tract of enclosed ground)';

ttš: pittšä 'tall, long', müttšä 'silent, mute', makauttši 'sleeping place', lühzettši 'milking pail';

tts: kuttsua 'to call, invite', mettsä 'forest'.

Dialectally Votic has geminates with a short first component (Eastern Votic region together with the vicinity of the village of Mati), e.g. kottō 'home (ill.)', n'aggō 'face (gen.)', ejjā 'brook (ill.)', eллō 'life (gen.)', siннū 'your' (all from the village of Mati). This secondary gemination occurs before a long vowel.

§ 9. Palatalized consonants are also found in Votic. Those consonants that are formed in the dental region can be palatalized, i.e. t, d, n, s, z, l, r. Palatalized consonants may be single phones or geminates:

t' : Ot'ju 'Audotia (proper name)', Mat'o 'Matrena (proper name)';

d' : лud'in 'I read (imperf.)', sud'imma 'we combed', Mad'ō 'Matrena (proper name) (gen.)', vad'da 'stake, peg', vid'deZ 'fifth', äd'dä 'father-in-law';

n' : n'ako 'face', n'emoi 'silent, mute', in'ehmīn 'person, human', kan'evo 'hemp', botven'a 'vegetable soup', minn'a 'daughter-in-law' (Jõgõpära);

s' : s'aлko 'foal', fs'oravno 'still, nevertheless', Vas'o 'Vasili (proper name)';

z' : Vaz'ō 'Vasili (proper name) (gen.)', az'z'a 'thing', ez'z'aD 'horse-tails, shave grass';

l' : gul'u 'dove', tal'u 'lamb (dim.)', putel'i 'bottle (sub-dialectally)', pal'aZ bare', il'ā 'late';

r' : r'umka 'liquor glass', gor'a 'worry', xar'okka 'weasel'.

Palatalization in Votic may be contrastive, e.g. vaso 'calf (dim.)' versus Vas'o 'Vasili (proper name)'. Though occurring primarily in Russian loanwords, it also appears in a few native Vote geminates. For a very few Votes whose language has been very strongly influenced by Russian phonetics, palatalization may follow the Russian pattern; that is, all consonants occurring before front vowels may be palatalized. However, such articulation can in no way be considered as characteristically Votic.

§ 10. The Votic language may have two (or three) consonants at the beginning of a word. The occurrence of two consonants is characteristic primarily of loans and onomatopoetic-descriptive words, e.g. kлasi 'glass', krotta 'mole', kramppi 'cramp', krapu 'crab', prāvittā 'to repair', svätoi 'holy', sлoja 'layer', snāmeni 'flag', šl'āppi 'hat', krōsnāB 'he snores', plakuttā 'to clap', krapisa 'to crackle', prakizęB 'it is cracking', streлa 'arrow'.

§ 11. The Votic language has sandhi. Voiced phones occurring in front of voiceless ones may become voiceless and vice versa. Sandhi appears in other forms also. A few examples are as follows:

nüd‿miä sinū panęn mehelē 'now I am going to marry you off (said to a girl)', meneb‿rinnā 'he is going side by side (with someone)', tulęt‿kotō 'you are coming home', tahop‿süvvä 'he wants to eat', mēs‿tuli 'the man came', mēz‿ęli vana 'the man was old', mēš‿tšüzüB 'the man asks', annam‿miä siллę opęzĭta 'I give you some horses', em‿pāznü 'I did not get through', näütäm‿mitäiD 'I show something', ev‿vęi 'I am sick', ev‿vętęttu 'it was not taken'.

§12. In Votic the length of short consonants and geminates is more or less equal to the length of the corresponding consonants in Finnish. Single consonants are longer than in Estonian. The geminates are a little shorter than the over-long geminates of Estonian.

§13. Consonant gradation has developed farther in Votic than in any other Balto-Finnic language. Gradation affects stops and clusters with stops, in other words stops plus sibilants and affricates. The following is a survey of gradation possibilities:

kk : k: vokki : vokī 'spinning wheel' : 'spinning wheel (gen.)', vaikko : vaikō 'resin' : 'resin (gen.)', paлkka : paлkā 'salary : salary (gen.)', sęrmikkāD : sęrmikaZ 'gloves (with fingers) : glove (with fingers)', tüttärikko : tüttärikoD 'girl : girls';

tt : t: kattā : katan 'to cover : I cover', ravvottamā : ravvotan 'to shoe a horse : I shoe a horse';

pp : p: rōppa : rōpassa 'porridge : porridge (elat.)', leppä : lepäD 'alder : alders';

ss : s: kassā : kasan 'to sprinkle, to water : I sprinkle, I water', issua : isun 'to sit : I sit', лagassā : лagasan 'to devastate : I devastate';

šš : š: karjušši : karjušiD 'shepherd : shepherds';

tts : ts: ęttsa : ętsā 'end, tip : end, tip (gen.)', virttsa : virtsā 'dung water : dung water (gen.)', suлttsia : suлtsin 'to rinse : I rinse', kammittsa : kammitsā 'fetter, chain : fetter, chain (gen.)';

ttš : tš: pittšä : pitšǟ 'long : long (gen.)', müttšä : mütšǟ 'silent, mute : silent, mute (gen.)', tšilttši : tšiltšiD 'grasshopper : grasshoppers', lühzettši : lühzetši 'milking pail : milking pail (gen.)';

ttš : ďď: väittšiä : väďďi 'to call, invite : call! invite! (sing.)';

k : g: tšako : tšagō 'cuckoo : cuckoo (gen.)', sikā : sigā 'pig : pig (gen.)', räkä : rägä 'nasal mucus : nasal mucus (gen.)', piki : pigĭkā 'pitch, cobbler's wax : pitch, cobbler's wax (com.)';

hk : hg: tuhka : tuhgassa 'ashes : ashes (elat. sing.)';

ŋk : ŋg: aŋko : aŋgō 'pitchfork : pitchfork (gen.)', kaŋkāD : kaŋgaZ 'cloths, materials : cloth, material';

sk : zg: pāsko : pāzgō 'swallow : swallow (gen.)';

sk : zz: лaskęa : лazzęn 'to let : I let';

šk : žg: šiška : šižgā 'rag : rag (gen.)';

rk : rg: varkāD : vargaZ 'thieves : thief';

лk : лg: jaлka : jaлgassa 'foot : foot (elat.)';

pk : bg: šapka : šabgā 'hat : hat (gen.)', jupka : jubgā 'skirt : skirt (gen.)';

tk : dg: matka : madgā 'journey, trip : journey, trip (gen.)', itkęa : idgęn 'to cry : I cry', utka : udgaD 'duck : ducks';

tšk : džg: botška : bodžgaD 'barrel, cask : barrels, casks';

fk : vg: slifkoi : slivgaD 'cream (part. pl.)' : cream (nom. pl.)';

t : ϕ: sitę̄ : sięę 'binding (gen.) : binding', mato : maęō 'snake : snake (gen.)', sęta : sęęā 'war : war (gen.)' (sub-dialectally there is sęta : sęhā);

t : d: tăti : tădiD 'aunt : aunts', sātu : sādussa 'garden : garden (elat.)', utu : udussa 'fog : fog (elat.)';

ť : ď: Maťo : Maďoллa 'Matrena (proper name) : Matrena (adess.)';

t : v: лauta : лavvaлla 'table : table (addes.)', leütā̆ : levvän 'to find : I find';

t : ďď: rītęлęn : riďďęлla 'I quarrel : to quarrel', vītēsē : viďďē 'five (ill.) : five (gen.)';

t : jj (sub-dialectally): rītęлęn : rijjęлla 'I quarrel : to quarrel';

ht : h: lehto : lehō 'leaf : leaf (gen.)';

nt : nn~n: lintu : linnū 'bird : bird (gen.)', tšā̆ntā̆ : tsā̆nän 'to turn : I turn';

lt(лt) : ll(лл)~l(л):: pęlto : pęллō 'field : field (gen.)', mēltŭB : mēlütäB 'it is attractive, flattering';

rt : rr~r: kęrta : kęrrā 'time, turn : time, turn (gen.)' ūrtę̄D : ūrę 'grooves, furrows : groove, furrow';

p : v: opęn : ovęssa 'horse : horse (part.)', лupān : лuvata 'I allow, promise : to allow, promise';

mp : mm: kumpa : kummā 'which one of two, who : which one of two (gen.), whose', sampāD : sammaZ 'column : columns';

lp(лp) : lv(лv): kęлpāB : kęлvatō 'it is suitable : unsuitable';

rp : rv: urpa : urvaD 'catkin : catkins', varpāD : varvaZ 'toe : toes';

s : z: isä : izässä 'father : father (elat.)', pikkaraisia : pikkaraizęD 'small (part. pl.) : small (nom. pl.)';

hs : hz: uhsi : uhzęлla 'door : door (adess.)', lähsi : lähzin 'he went : I went', лahsi : лahzęD 'child : children';

rs : rz: pęrsāD : pęrzaZ 'piglets : piglet';

š : ž: Maša : Mažā 'Maša (proper name) : Maša (gen.)';

tš : dž (primarily in Eastern Votic): retši : redžē 'sledge : sledge (gen.)', autši : audžiD 'pike : pikes (fish)';

tš : ϕ: itšä : iä 'age : age (gen.)', ätšēD : äeZ 'harrows : harrow', mätši : mäessä 'hill : hill (elat.)' (sub-dialectally the weak grade may have j as a linking phone before e, e.g. mäjeD 'hills', äjeZ 'harrow');

tš : đ: лutši : лuđin 'he read (imperf.) : I read (imperf.)', autši : auđiD 'pike : pikes (fish)';

tš : g: лatši : лagē 'ceiling : ceiling (gen.)', sutši : sugen 'he combed : I comb';

htš : zg: kahtši : kazgē 'birch : birch (gen.)';

htš : zz: lehtši : lezzē 'widow : widow (gen.)' (sub-dialectally the weak grade has leššē – Jõgõperä);

htš : hj: mähtšä : mähjā 'sweetened rye mush : sweetened rye mush (gen.)', pühtšēD : pühje 'towels : towel';

htš : zđ:(in Eastern Votic): lehtši : lezđessi 'widow : widow (transl.)';

htš : hđ (in Eastern Votic): tähtši : tähđeD 'head, ear of corn : heads, ears of corn';

ntš : nđ: entšia : enđin 'to fish : I fish', entši : enđē 'soul, individual : soul, individual (gen.)';

ntš : nn: tšentšä : tšennā 'shoe : shoe (gen.)';

ntš : nń: entši : enńeD 'individual : individuals' (Jõgõperä-Luuditsa);

ntš : ndž (in Eastern Votic): entši : endžē 'soul : soul (gen.)', mäntšiä : mändžin 'to play : I play' (also in Western Votic);

ltš : ll: seltšä : sellässä 'back : back (elat.)', ültšēD : ülle 'seals, sea dogs : seal, sea dog';

лtš : лg: eлtši : eлgē 'straw : straw (gen.)';

rtš : rdž (in Eastern Votic): ärtšä : ärdžā 'bull : bull (gen.)';

rtš : rj: ärtšä : ärjā 'bull : bull (gen.)', särtši : särjeD 'roach : roaches';

rtš : rđ: särtši : särđillä 'roach : roaches (adess.)';

rtš : rg: kurtši : kurgē 'stork : stork (gen.)';

The premise for the radical gradation system presented above is the original openness and closedness of the syllable. If originally the syllable was closed, the weak grade occurs; if, however, the syllable was originally open, then conversely, the strong grade occurs, e.g. isä 'father' <*isä; izā 'father (gen.)' <*isän; izässä 'father (elat.)' <*isästä; isännä 'father (ess.)' <*isänä.

§ 14. A small part of the most recent loanwords are not affected by consonant gradation, as for example šnurka : šnurkaллa 'rope : rope (adess.)', staruxa : staruxaD 'old woman : old women'.

Concerning the strong grade of the inessive and of the plural, see § 25 and §43 respectively.

§ 15. In addition to the so-called radical gradation, (gradation taking place in the stem of a word), Votic also has suffix gradation, which is dependent on the position of the phone in the word. Namely, a single consonant occurring after an unstressed syllable is always in the weak grade, e.g. ettsigo: ettsigō 'a search : a search (gen.)', a kajaga : kajagā 'sea gull : sea gull (gen.)', opezia : opezeD 'horses (part.) : horses', tšedräziväD: tšedräzin 'they were spinning : I was spinning'.

§16. In Votic the dynamic main stress is normally on the first syllable of a word. The only exceptions are a few compound words which are no longer treated as compounds, e.g. ebe·лe 'it is not', para·iko 'now', mā,i·лma 'world', sesa·ma 'the very one'. Also in the most recent Russian loanwords word stress may occur on syllables other than the first, as for example, fs'oravno· 'still, nevertheless', signa·лe 'signal', kamuni·sti 'communist', revolū·ttsija 'revolution'. In the older loanwords the stress is always on the first syllable, where, according to individual usage, it can also occur in the newer loans.

Strong secondary stress occurs on the third (and fifth) syllable(s), e.g. лu·kemī:n 'reading (noun)', su·vāmī:n 'loving (noun)', tü·ttäri:kko 'girl', pi·kkara:izeD 'small (pl.)', ke·лvatō: 'unsuitable', ka·mmitsa:D 'fetters', ka·vaлa: 'sly, clever'. The various case endings, however, show no evident secondary stress, e.g. se·llässä 'back (elat.)', лa·vvaлla 'table (adess.)'.

§17. The speech melody or intonation of the Votic language is much closer to Estonian than to that of Finnish. The Ingrians, living side by side with Votes, have, however, an intonation pattern which is indeed closer to the intonation of Finnish. As is well known, intonation is a rather conservative phonetic phenomenon which may remain constant for great lengths of time. The fact that Votic and Estonian have more or less the same intonation patterns should in itself give support to the assertion that the Votic language arose from those Balto-Finnic dialects which also become the basis for the Estonian language.

In Votic the intonation pattern of individual words remains at a nearly steady level for the entire length of the word. A small intonational rise at the beginning of the word and a fall at the end are not really noticeable. The intonation pattern for any type of sentence is always falling, as it also is in Estonian, e.g. miä tuлen kotōsē 'I am coming home', miä en tuлe kotōsē 'I am not coming home', elä tuлe kotōsē! 'don't come (sing.) home!'.

§ 18. The articulatory basis of Votic is, nevertheless, noticeably different from the articulatory basis of Estonian. In the Votic

language all phones are formed higher and more intensively than in Estonian. Regarding the more intensive articulation of the phones, Votic is closer to the Finnish language.

Ed. note--these additional symbols occur in the transcription of the examples: ę̇ - raised ę, ɛ - vowel between e and ā, ˌ - syllable boundary, e.g. tōˌaG. Also, proper names have been capitalized to conform to English usage; this should not be confused with final -B, -G, -D, -Z, which indicate voiceless lenes.

MORPHOLOGY

Nominals

Cases

§ 19. In Votic as in the other Balto-Finnic languages, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and numerals follow the same general principle in their declension. Thus, the changes occurring in all nominals can be considered together.

Votic has the following singular and plural productive cases: nominative, genitive, partitive, illative, inessive, elative, allative, adessive, ablative, translative, essive, abessive, comitative, terminative, excessive, and instructive. The instructive and the comitative II (§ 38) are actually rudimentary cases functioning as adverbs. A separate accusative occurs only for a few pronouns.

Instead of a common standard language, the Votes have a number of small sub-dialects which differ especially widely from one another in regard to morphology. Therefore, all of the more significant case endings will be listed in the discussion which follows. The forms used in the Kattila sub-dialect group are taken as the basic forms for analysis.

§ 20. As is the case with the other Balto-Finnic languages, the nominative singular in Votic has no special marker, e.g. kana 'hen', lehmä 'cow', varvaZ 'toe', tütär 'daughter', kęɲtain 'yellow'.

The plural marker for the nominative is -D, which as a result of sandhi may also appear as a voiced lenis or a voiceless fortis, e.g. kanaD 'hens', lehmäD 'cows', varpāD 'toes', tüttäreD 'daughters, girls', kęɲtaizęD 'yellow (pl.)', but tüttäret‿tulivaD 'the daughters came', tüttäred‿dūmazivaD 'the daughters were thinking'.

§ 21. The marker of the genitive singular is lengthening of the stem vowel. The consonant grade is weak if the nominative singular is in the strong grade. Words ending in a long vowel or in a diphthong have no special marker for the genitive, e.g. (uhsi 'door':) uhzē 'door (gen.)', (isä 'father':) izā̄ 'father (gen.)', (kotti 'sack, bag':) kotī 'sack, bag (gen.)', (tüttärikko 'girl':) tüttärikō 'girl (gen.)',

(mā 'land, country':) mā 'land, country (gen.)', (jā 'ice':) jā 'ice (gen.)', (vęi 'butter, oil':) vęi 'butter, oil (gen.)'. In the Jõgõperä dialect group a half-long vowel or even a sandhi-conditioned short vowel may quite often occur in place of a long vowel, e.g. tütterikò 'girl (gen.)', kattiлà 'kettle (gen.)', tämä nõrębà poiga nain 'his younger son's wife'.

In Votic as in all Balto-Finnic languages, the ending of the genitive was previously -n. In a few instances this former genitive marker appears even today. It occurs primarily in front of the following words: ęma 'own', aлā '(to) under', aлла 'under', aлta '(from) under', etē '(to) in front', ēzä 'in front', ēssä '(from) in front', nain~nainę 'woman', aika 'time' : minūn‿ęma 'mine, my own', лahzēn‿ęma 'the child's, the child's own', siллān‿aлā '(to) under the floor', pān‿aлла 'under the head', rässān‿aлta '(from) under the roof', rehēn‿etē 'into the front room', saunān‿ēzä 'in the front room of the bathhouse', Trifonān‿nain 'Trifona's wife', izān‿aikana 'in father's time, in the presence of father'. Usually the genitive -n is pronounced in liaison, that is, the -n is carried over to the beginning of the following word, e.g. minū‿nęma 'mine, my own', siллā‿naлā '(to) under the floor', rehē‿netē~rehennetē 'into the front room', etc.

In Eastern Votic and around the region of Mati gemination occurs in front of the long vowel of the genitive, e g. nižzū 'wheat (gen.)', tšülĭlā 'village (gen.)'.

The obsolescent -n of the genitive does not appear in the plural. In the plural the genitive markers are either the forms -jē/ -ję, -ďďē/-ďďę or simply the plural stem, e.g. jaлkojē~jaлkoi 'feet (gen.)', лahsajē~лahsai 'children (gen.)', linojē~linoi 'sheets, flax (gen.)', lintujē~lintui 'birds (gen.)', rattajē~rattai 'wheels, cart (gen.)', õnęjē~õnęi 'buildings (gen.)', sęrmi 'fingers (gen.)', kęikkī 'everything, all (gen. pl.)', inehmīsī 'people (gen.)'. The sub-dialectal occurrence, as in Jarvigoištšülä, of plural genitives such as seipäďďē 'stakes, poles (gen.)', tüttärikkoďďē 'girls (gen.)', puďďē 'trees (gen.)', jäďďē 'ice (gen. pl.)', koďďē 'moths (gen.)', etc. is a general feature in all Votic sub-dialects. In the Jõgõperä sub-dialect a genitive plural having double genitive markers can occur, e. g. puďďęję 'trees (gen.)'. In the same sub-dialect either a half-long or a short vowel can occur in place of the long vowel, e.g. tähtijè 'stars (gen.)', tšülije 'villages (gen.)'.

In the Votic language the marker of the genitive plural is always added to the vowel stem.

First of all, the genitive in Votic appears attributively, e.g. poigā tširja 'the boy's letter', tševāllä on lintui лauлu iлoza 'in

spring the song of the birds is beautiful', se on sigā suku 'this is of pig stock (i.e. unsuitable, good-for-nothing people)'.

The ergative sentence construction belongs here also, e.g. Fjokлa on karū revittü 'Fjokla has been torn by the bear', poigā tehtü 'done by the boy'.

In Votic, as in Finnish, the genitive can function as a dative, e.g. kumpa sinū näüttīp‿paręp kęikkia? 'who seems to you to be the best of all?', minū bęлę kuhę mennä 'I have no place to go', ohto sinū on savvęa sętkua 'you have enough clay to knead', kęikkī piti ęлla 'everyone had to be'.

Furthermore, the genitive indicates the person or object that is doing or accomplishing something, e.g. izā tuллęza kotõsę 'upon father's coming home'.

In Votic the attributive genitive may occur without a possessive pronoun, e.g. štop‿se ęлęis tämā 'so that it would be his', se ęli minū 'that was mine'. In poetic or emphatic style the attributive genitive may appear after the word that it modifies; generally, however, it is always in front of the word to which it refers, e.g. pilvi ęli tuллu taivā 'a cloud of the sky had come', kase ęli koto Kigori‿ā! 'but that was Grigori's house!

The genitive also indicates how many there are together, e.g. kahę tšezzē 'the two of us', tulimma kęлmę mehē 'we three men came'.

§ 22. In Votic the accusative singular is like either the nominative or the genitive; the plural accusative coincides with the nominative plural, e.g. tęukkā ęmaz‿äntä vetēsē 'stick (sing.) your tail into the water', näütä miллę merkki 'give (show) (sing.) me the signal', avā silmäd‿avę 'open (sing.) your eyes', puлmat‿pēttī 'the wedding was celebrated', siллę tuvvaš mokoma kirstu 'such a chest (coffin) will be brought to you', sõjętin vē 'I heated the water', mahzan kęik sūrę mahzõ 'I will pay all of the large fee', i tämā vällā ajęvaD 'and they chased him out', sõtettī i jõtętti nämä 'they were fed and given drink (until they were full)', isä tervütti nämä 'father greeted them', ep‿kūлlu ęлęvā 'didn't hear it being so', eb‿näü tuлęvā 'doesn't seem to be coming'.

A special marker for the accusative has been noted only in regard to a few personal pronouns, e.g. teďďet‿lüvvässä 'you are being hit', meďďed‿etsittī 'we were being looked for' (Lempola).

§ 23. In Votic the marker of the partitive is -ta/-tä ~ -tę/ -te ~ -t, -sa/-sä, -a/-ä; the lengthening of a and ä to ā and ä respectively; or just the stem, which is used only as the marker of the partitive plural, e.g īrtä 'mouse (part.)', ępęata 'silver (part.)',

pātä 'head (part.)', ülettä 'cream (part.)', päivüttä 'sun (part.)', sutta 'wolf (part.)', tätä 'him', neitä 'them', varkaita 'thieves (part.)', munɛita 'eggs (part.)', einoita 'hay (part. pl.)', vasaroita 'hammers (part.)', tüttäritä 'daughters (part.)', pillitä 'musical instruments (part.)', opɛzīta 'horses (part.)', rikkāpīta 'richer (part. pl.)'. The Jõgõperä sub-dialect may have -ɛ and -ɛ as the final vowel of the partitive marker, e.g. pāte 'head (part.)', muitɛ 'others (part.)', lähette 'source, spring (part.)', etc. As already stated above (§ 6), the final vowel of a case marker may disappear. Thus, in unstressed sandhi positions, and even in stressed positions, the partitive also can have forms without a vowel, e.g. kunni zvierid vɛittivad ⌣ lintuit 'until the animals defeated the birds', tuon süvvä sūri pähtšinit i ɛunɛi 'I bring big nuts and apples to eat', tütär ɛli kɛrkɛat kazvua 'the daughter was of tall growth (i.e. the daughter was tall)' (Lempola). Apocope is especially characteristic of the Jõgõperä sub-dialect.

Words whose stem ends in -s have -sa/-sä as the marker of the partitive, e.g naissa 'woman (part.)', лassa 'child (part.)', vīmissä 'last (part.)', kaunissa 'red (part.)'.

Besides the already mentioned partitive in -ta/ -tä, -a/ -ä also occurs as a marker of the partitive. This happens primarily in disyllabic words. However, since according to individual and sub-dialectal usage the partitive in -a/-ä is common also to words of three or more syllables, it is not possible to draw a definite boundary between these two partitive markers, e.g lintua 'bird (part.)', лakɛa 'ceiling (part.)', savvɛa 'clay (part.)', pihua 'palm of the hand (part.)', seppiä 'smith (part.)', minua 'me(part.)', sinua 'you (part. sing.)', tüttärikkoa 'girl (part.)', ɛhtagoa 'evening (part.)', naizikkoa 'woman (part.)'.

Words with stems ending in -a/-ä have a long vowel as the partitive marker, e.g. päivā 'day, sun (part.)', leipā 'bread (part.)', lidnā 'town (part.)', tiлā 'place (part.)', vorotnikkā 'collar (part.)'.

Partitives with double partitive markers, such as nõrɛpāta 'younger (part.)', üvātä 'good (part.)', leipātä 'bread (part.)', vävüätä 'son-in-law (part.)', should not go unnoticed. This type of partitive occurs everywhere in the Votic language area. It is especially common in the Kattila sub-dialect group.

The most common marker of the partitive plural is the plural stem, e.g emī vellī '(one's) own brothers (part.)', värttänī 'distaffs (part.)', linoi 'sheets, flax (part.)', лahsai 'children (part.)', jaлkoi 'feet (part.)', mɛnikkai paлoi 'several pieces, sections (part.)', kapussoi 'cabbages (part.)', mutukkoi 'bugs (part.)', soлdattai 'soldiers (part.)'.

In Votic the partitive is used first of all to express a partial object, e.g. tüttärikkɛin sõp ⌣ kuivā leipā 'the girl (dim.) eats some dry bread', sɛdgon savvɛa 'I am kneading some clay', orkoлaizɛt ⌣ tšüntäväd ⌣ jo pɛлtua 'the inhabitants of the village of Mati (=orkoлaizɛt) are already plowing the field', tõn süvvä lihā i vɛita 'I bring some meat and butter to eat', pani sūrɛ kaukaлõ siniš savvɛa 'he put a big trough of blue clay', antagā kuiva paлa leipātä 'give (pl.) a dry piece of bread'.

The partial subject is also in the partitive, e.g. on vēl leipā 'there is more bread', mā-munɛita lēB 'there will be some potatoes', dabuni opɛzīta 'a herd of horses'.

With negation the object is always in the partitive, and under certain circumstances so is the subject, e.g. bɛлɛ kaлoi 'there is no fish', mā pāllä tiлā eb lē 'there will be no place on earth', emā bɛллu tāl 'he had no mother', üvātä bɛлɛ ühtäiD 'there is not one good one', en taho läntüä 'I don't want sour milk', emmä ɛsa kast sɛpā 'we are not buying this article of clothing'.

With the exception of the numeral ühsi 'one', the partitive singular occurs after words of quantity, e.g. ühs лahs ⌣ on kotona 'one child is at home', kahs kɛm vaddaлaisī tšülā 'two or three Vote villages', ɛlin lidnaza tšümmē võtta 'I was in the city ten years', miл on palʹʹo ätätä 'I have much trouble', kahs pihua sūrimoi 'two handfuls of barley'.

The origin of someone or something, or the classification of someone or something into a certain category is indicated by the partitive, e.g. tämä naizikko on tõž soikkoлaisī 'this woman is also a Soikkola Ingrian', sika on üvā (~üvätä) sukua 'the pig is of a good breed', tütär ɛli kɛrkɛat kazvua 'the daughter was of tall growth (i.e. the daughter was tall)'.

When it stands next to the comparative, the word with which something is compared is always in the partitive, e.g. kɛikkɛa sūrɛp pojo 'the biggest boy of all', miä ɛлɛn palʹʹo vanapi teitä 'I am much older than you (pl.)', kɛrkɛapaлt lidnā 'from higher than the town'.

The partitive is used also as a place and time adverbial, e.g. kurɛaza tšättä 'in the left hand', senel päivā, kasen päivā 'on that day', tɛizɛл päivā 'on another day', ühel kɛrtā tuli sūr tūli 'once there came a big wind', kɛлmɛttomaлl ⌣ ötä 'on the third night' (Mati).

Furthermore the partitivus causae should also be noted, e.g. on itšävä emā 'mother is pitied, mother is felt sorry for', lezzellä ɛli itšävä mēssä 'the widow felt sorry, sad about her husband'. Also, the partitivus directionis, e.g. tämä taitšinākā viskazi īrtä 'he/she threw the mouse with dough (i.e. he/she threw dough at the mouse)'.

Concerning the prepositions and postpositions which require the partitive see § 126, § 130.

§ 24. Monosyllabic word stems have -hē/-hę or -hā/-hą as the marker of the illative. Words of two or more syllables have a long stem vowel or a diphthong in the illative, or else they have lengthening of the stem vowel. The emphatic particle -sē/-sę may be added to each of these markers, e.g. jähē~jähēsē 'ice (ill.)', pähē~pähēsē 'head (ill.)', öhē~öhēsē 'night (ill.)', sohę~sohęsę 'marsh (ill.)', suhę~suhęsę 'mouth (ill.)', puhę~puhęsę 'tree (ill.)'. pähä~pähäsē 'head (ill.)' occurs dialectally. mahā~mahāsę 'ground, land (ill.)' is used generally. Examples from stems having more than one syllable are as follows: koirū~koirūsę 'mischief (ill.)', lidnā~lidnāsę 'town (ill.)', tšätē~tšätēsē 'hand (ill.)', sętā~sętāsę 'war (ill.)', kahtšizikkō~kahtšizikkōsę 'birch grove (ill.)'. Likewise, the forms onę~ōnęsę 'building (ill.)', taivā~taivāsę 'heaven (ill.)', tširvē~tširvēsē 'ax (ill.)' also occur. However, words ending in -e, -eZ, -iZ, -aZ, (e.g. lähe 'source, spring', kalliZ 'dear, expensive', лumękaZ 'snowy') almost always have the illative ending in -sē/ -sę. Dialectally in the vicinity of Kattila the emphatic particle has a short final vowel, e.g. lidnāsę 'town (ill.)', tšätēse 'hand (ill.)'. In the Jõgõperä sub-dialect the illative may have a half-long vowel in place of a long vowel, e.g. mahà 'ground, land (ill.)', kattiлà 'kettle (ill.)', eлòsè 'life (ill.)'.

Noteworthy is the Eastern Votic form mettsäsēG 'forest (ill.)', pīmäsēG 'milk (ill.)'. Here we are concerned with the lative marker -k, which has been added to the illative.

In the plural the emphatic particle -sē/-sę is general as the marker of the illative. It is added to the plural stem, e.g. maisę 'lands (ill.)', lintuisę 'birds (ill.)', vasaroisę 'hammers (ill.)', pehmīsē~pehmeisē 'soft (ill. pl.)', sūrępisę 'bigger (ill. pl.)'.

In those sub-dialects where gemination occurs, the consonant occuring in front of the long vowel of the illative is geminated, e.g tšättē~tšättè 'hand (ill.)' (Jõgõperä), eллōsę 'life (ill.)' (Mati), taŕrę̄sę̄G 'bathhouse (ill.)' (Itšäpäivä).

First of all, the illative indicates movement toward something, and the placing or situating of something (someone) somewhere, e.g. pojod ̆menivät ̆tęisę tšülāsē 'the boys went to another village', panę leipä värttsisē 'put (sing.) the bread into the bag'. lehmät ̆tulivad ̆mettsäsē 'the cows came into the forest', varęz ̆lenti puhę̄ 'the crow flew onto the tree', tämä meni ęikę̆ā tšätęsę̄ 'he went to the right', soлdatti meni käppī 'the soldier went to the closet'.

Further, the illative indicates the habitual frequentation of a place, e.g. tämä tšäüsi lidnā 'he often went to town' (cf. tšäüsi lidnaza 'he went to town once').

A direct connection between different objects can be expressed with the illative, e.g lein varpā tšivēsē 'I hit (imperf.) my toe against the stone (rock)', ratkazin nagлāsę sęrmę̄ 'I hit (imperf.), chopped my finger against the nail', panę šŕäppi pähē 'put (sing.) the hat onto your head', issū opęzęлę̄ seltšā 'sit (sing.) on the horse', koлizę uhsę̄ 'knock (sing.) on the door'.

The work or activity which one is setting out to perform is denoted by the illative, e.g. naizikod ̆meniväd mettsä marjāsę̄ 'the women went to the forest to pick berries', karjušši trubitti i meni karjā 'the shepherd blew his horn and went to (tend) the flock', kuhę̄ menet ̆töhē? 'where are you (sing.) going to work?', menti tšäümäsē 'they went to woo', vaлmissua sętāsę̄ 'to get ready for war, to go to war', umalikkād ̆mehed ̆evät ̆kęлpā töhē 'drunken men are not suitable for work'.

The illative indicates the person, circumstance, object, or thing under whose administration or influence someone (something) may come, e.g mō jäimmä pimi ̆äsē 'we got caught in the dark', tšenēsē on poika? 'whom does the son resemble?'.

The illative is also used to show the time when something occurs. The time is not precisely determined, e.g vanā aikā elimmä pazgassi 'in the old times we lived badly', se ęli ēlmuinā 'this was once upon a time', koлxozā aikā 'during the collective farm era', päivässä päivāsē 'from day to day'.

§ 25. The marker of the inessive is -za/-zä According to its sandhi position the inessive marker can also appear as -Z. The apocopated marker -Z may even appear as -s or -š, e.g. māza 'ground, land (iness.)', pāzä 'head (iness.)', jaлgaza 'foot (iness.)', pezäzä 'nest (iness.)', kammittsaza 'fetter (iness.)', tammizikkoza 'oak grove, grave yard (iness.)', but māz ̆ęli kasę 'dew was on the ground', pēnepäz ̆rihezä on лauta 'the table is in the smaller room', eglē ęlimma lidnaZ 'yesterday we were in town', (the word ęlimma is emphasized, cf. ęlimma lidnaza, 'we were in town, not in the country'), kuręaš ̆tšäezä 'in the left hand'. In the Jõgõperä sub-dialect the inessive marker can have -e/-ę as its final vowel, e.g. tšüläze 'village (iness.)', jaлgęzę 'foot (iness.)'. In the same dialect the apocopated inessive ending is especially widespread. In the plural, the same ending as for the singular is added to the plural stem, e.g. maiza 'lands (iness.)', tšülīzä 'villages (iness.)'.

A characteristic feature of the Votic inessive is the fact that geminate stops -kk-, -pp-, -tt-, the geminate affricates -tts-, -ttš-, the geminate -ss-, and the consonant cluster -hs- always are in the strong grade before this case marker, e.g. vęrkkoza

'net (iness.)', rõppaza 'porridge (iness.)', лauttaza 'animal shed (iness.)', mettsäzä 'forest (iness.)', pittšäzä 'long, tall (iness.)', mussaza 'black (iness.)', лahsęza 'child (iness.)', лuzikkaza 'spoon (iness.)', kammittsaza 'fetter (iness.)', lühzettšizä 'milking pail (iness.)', etc. However, a single stop and a single -s- always have the weak grade in the inessive, e.g. orgoza 'valley (iness.)', pāza 'pot (iness.)', kravuza 'crag (iness.)', izäzä 'father (iness.)'.

The inessive indicates location, e.g. miä ęлęn elännü aina ęmaza tšüläzä 'I have always lived in my own village', mettsäzä näin pędrā 'I saw an elk in the forest', ęrava issu pūza 'a squirrel sat on the tree', koirūz‿on jo verezä 'mischief is already in the blood', tšen on uhsęza? 'who is behind the door?'.

The inessive, like the illative, expresses a direct connection between different objects, e.g. pojoлla on kauniš‿tšiutto selläzä 'the boy is wearing a red shirt', tširjavat‿tšintāt‿tšäezä 'multi-colored gloves on the hands'.

The inessive indicates the affecting circumstance, power, or force, e.g. kuivattagā kaлat‿päivūz 'dry (pl.) the fish (pl.) in the sun', kahs sęrmęa tšämmälezä 'two fingers bent', sūr mato on лukkoza 'a big serpent is locked up' (from a fairy tale), se bęллu vēlä naiziza 'this one was not yet married', kuллā voimaza 'in the glow of gold', mād‿on kęлmęza nurmęza 'the land is in three fields'.

The time within which something happens is denoted by the inessive, e.g. siä ęmaz‿iäz‿ed‿ehi hukata 'you (sing.) won't be able to waste (it) in your lifetime', kęлmęza päiväzä tetši vaлmīssi 'he finished it in three days'.

The inessive also expresses the activity or the work in which one is engaged, e.g. лahzęd‿ęlivad obahkaza 'the children were out gathering mushrooms', ęlimma kōminaza tappamaza 'we were in the threshing-barn threshing (grain)', kuza ęлęt‿tözä? 'where are you working?'.

Note should be taken of the fact that the verb jāmā 'to remain' can occur with the inessive, e.g. miл kīzaz‿on jęänü męnikkai paлoi 'a few pieces (of food) have remained in my bag' (Lempola). However, even in Votic the illative is still the more common form, e.g. jäi kotō 'he/it remained at home'.

§ 26. The marker of the elative is -ssa/-ssä, -ssę/-sse, or the apocopated form -s̄, which occurs as a result of sandhi, e.g. sūssa 'mouth (elat.)', mehessä 'man (elat.)', nätšemässä 'seeing (noun, elat.)', akkunassa 'window (elat.)', but tämä akkunaš rägahtī 'he shouted once from the window', ajan ęmaš kōssa vällā 'I chase, drive (something) out of my house, home'. The apocopated elative

marker is especially widespread in the Jõgõperä sub-dialect. In the same sub-dialect elative forms such as kāpisse 'closet, cupboard (elat.)', silmīsse 'eyes (elat.)' can be heard. In the plural the same case marker as for the singular is added to the plural stem.

The elative indicates departure or removal from a certain place, and the direction from which one comes or originates, e.g. vęta vęrkossa kaлaD 'take (sing.) the fish from the net', lidnassa tōti buлkkā 'white bread was brought from town', tulin rannassa 'I came from the shore', saksaлain ajętti meďďē mässa vällā 'the German was driven out of our country', tämä pakęni vällä mehessä 'she ran away from her husband' (Mati), nämä pakęnivad‿ zvierīssä 'they ran away from the wild animals' (Lempola).

The elative is used to express the cessation of a direct connection between objects, e.g. sęrmuhsę tšäješ vętan 'I take the ring from the finger' (Lempola), šnurka katkęzi kukšinassa 'the rope broke off from the mug'.

The elative shows the source or the material from which something is made, e.g. pata on tehtü savvęssa 'the pot is made from clay', лęŋka on viлlassa 'the yarn is of wool'.

The elative indicates the opening or the path through which some action occurs, e.g. emintimä rägahtī akkunassa 'the stepmother shouted once from the window', tämä tuli uhzęš akkunnaллę 'he came outside through the door', ampu püsüssä 'he shot from the gun'.

The elative shows that part of a whole which is under consideration, e.g. ühsi nõrissa 'one of the young', tämä ęli aivõ mūdra tęisīš vellīš 'he was quite smart compared to the other brothers', naiz-eлokoiš on kotona Mar'o 'of the women folk (only) Marjo is at home'.

The elative denotes a person, being or object about whom or which someone is speaking, e.g. käska kunikā tüttäreš 'fairy tale about a king's daughter', tämä pajatti meďďē tšülā̄ peлossa 'he spoke about the burning of our village'.

The elative also shows that being or object for whom or for which something is obtained or paid in return, e.g. antę rubl'ä deŋgoit pillissä 'he gave one ruble of money for the (clay) flute', sain tössä üvā̄ paлkā 'I got good wages for the work'.

Further, the elative indicates that which is caught or held, e.g. i vętti tütärt tšäeš tšīn 'and he took his daughter by the hand' (Lempola), koira puri лassa jaлgassa 'the dog bit the child on the foot', jäi ännässä tšīni 'it got caught by its tail'.

Finally, the elative expresses the period of time of origin, or the time during which something occurs, e.g. tšäppä on švēdā

aigassa 'the grave is from the Swedish period', senessä päivässä 'from this day', päivässä päiväsē õttẹ̄n poigaлta tširjā 'from day to day I wait for a letter from my son'.

§ 27. The marker of the allative in Votic is -llē/-ллẹ̄, -lle/-лле, or -lē/-лẹ̄, -le/-лẹ, -l/-л. The occurrence of these endings fluctuates considerably dialectally and in individual usage. In general, however, their occurrence is as follows: after a short vowel with main or secondary stress, the geminate -ll/-лл occurs; after a non-short vowel and an unstressed syllable the single -l/-л occurs, e.g. miллẹ̄ 'I (all.)', tällē 'he (all.)', tšellē 'who (all.)', vimezellē~vīmizellē 'last (adj.) (all.)', sẹsareллẹ̄ 'sister (all.)', tüttärellē 'daughter (all.)', but võlē 'belt (all.)', tõlē 'work (all.)', näilē 'they (all.)', mālẹ̄ 'ground, land (all.)', sẹsariлẹ̄ 'sisters (all.)' pitšälē 'long (all.)', naizeлẹ̄ (all.)', üvälē 'good (all.)', ghtagoizeлẹ̄ 'supper (all.)'. Dialectally (the village of Pontizõõ) the single -l/-л occurs also after the secondary stress, e.g. tüttärelē 'daughter (all.)', tuttavaлẹ̄ 'acquaintance (all.)'. In other dialects (Luuditsa) gemination occurs even after an unstressed syllable, e.g. mehelle 'man, husband (all.)', kanaллẹ 'hen (all.)'. Not only in the latter dialect region, but in other areas also, a short word-final vowel may occur due to sandhi. The short vowel is especially common in the personal pronouns miллẹ 'I (all.)', siллẹ 'you (all. sing.)', tälle 'he (all.)', meile 'we (all.)', etc. In Jõgõperä a half-long word-final vowel is quite common, e.g. mālẹ̀ 'land, ground (all.)', mehelè 'man (all.)', tütterellè 'daughter (all.)'.

In order to bring the function of the allative to the fore, the emphatic marker for the illative -sē/-sẹ̄ can be added to the allative ending. This feature is especially characteristic of the Kattila region, e.g. siллaлẹ̄sẹ̄ 'bridge, floor (all.)', emälēsē 'mother (all.)', jaлkoiлẹ̄sẹ̄ 'feet (all.)'.

The Votic allative is a very productive case. It is used first of all to denote proceeding, or putting something (someone), to a place, e.g. meni kaivõ rakkẹ̄лẹ̄ 'he went to the wall enclosing the well', pani leivä лavvaлẹ̄ 'he put the bread on the table', viskämma mālẹ̄ 'we throw/let's throw (it) on the ground!, pani mẹ̄kā võlē 'he put the sword in his belt'.

The allative indicates the continual and habitual frequentation of a place, e.g. ühz‿naizikko tšääüs nīttämā pẹллoлẹ̄ 'one woman went (continually, as a matter of course) to mow on the field', kuttsẹ puлmẹiлẹ̄sẹ̄ 'he was always inviting (someone) to the wedding'.

The allative indicates setting out in the direction of someone or something, e.g. tämä johzep‿hukoлẹ̄ vassā 'he is running to greet the old man' (Mati), meni tẹizeлẹ̄ sẹsaraллẹ̄ 'she went to the other sister', tuli vanaлẹ̄ ämmälē 'she came to the old mother (dim.), kunikaz‿лahtši bābuškaллẹ 'the king let, allowed (someone) to go to grandmother' (from a fairy tale).

The allative expresses that person or object toward whom or which some action is directed, or in respect to whom or which an action is performed, e.g. bābuška miллẹ pajatti 'grandmother told me', kẹik miллẹ jätä 'leave (sing.) everything to me', tšellē se tufli kẹлpāB? 'for whom is the slipper suitable?', issū opẹzẹллẹ̄ seltšä! 'sit (sing.) on the horse!', karuлẹ̄ i silmät‿tšin piti panna 'even the eyes of the bear had to be closed' (from a fairy tale), nẹisi tämä sẹsaraiлẹ̄ nīttämā 'he started to mow for the sisters', näilẹ̄ tuli tās‿paha mēli 'they started to get into a bad mood again', teilē mehīlē, mehē põlẹzẹlẹ̄, ain lēb‿aikā 'you men/menfolk will always have time', kummartatti tällē 'he was bowed to (i.e. they bowed to him)'.

The allative expresses that which comes under some power or into some situation, e.g. лazzid‿minua voliлẹ̄ 'they set me free', kẹik jaлgad‿rikkozin verelē 'I beat (broke) all feet until they bled', venüttäs pitšälē 'it is stretched long'.

The allative marks the person to whom one gets married, e.g. nüd‿miä sinū panẹn mehelē 'now I am going to marry you off (said to a woman)', evät‿tā što nõrikkẹ mehelē meni 'they don't know that the bride got married', naisiuzi tẹizeлẹ naizeлẹ̄ 'he got married to another woman'.

The allative is used to express sensory impressions, e.g. kui üvälē haizep‿kẹik! 'how good everything smells!', maistā pahaлẹ̄ 'to taste bad', ivuhsẹd on musaлẹ̄ 'the hair seems black'.

The allative expresses permission, denial, duty, and command, e.g. kui miллẹ mennä? 'how must I go?', anna miллẹ tšävvä 'let (sing.) me walk', tšähsi tüttärellē panna võlē tšīn 'he told his daughter to fasten (it) to her belt', mitä siллẹ̄ vajā? 'what do you (sing.) need?'.

The allative can also indicate the owner of something, e.g. a tällē kunikkā tüttäred‿ẹlivat‿kẹrjettu лaivaza 'but he had princesses hidden in the ship' (Lempola, from a fairy tale), ēlmuinā ẹli emintimä tüttärikkẹizeлẹ̄ 'in times gone by, the girl (dim.) had a stepmother', tällē täütti kahtšümmet võtta 'he became twenty years old', miллẹ kẹлmẹt‿päivǟ toĭki elǟ 'I have only three days to live' (from a fairy tale).

Finally, the allative can show the action or activity which someone (something) is setting out to perform, e.g kuhẹ̄ mēmmä tõlē? 'where are we going to work?'.

§ 28. The marker of the adessive is -llä/-лла, -lle/-лле, -lä/-лa, -l̄/-л̄, -l/-л. However, the geminate forms are general as

markers of the adessive, e.g. mālла 'ground, land (adess.)', pālläl 'head (adess.)', puiлла 'trees (adess.)', meillä 'we (adess.)', siлла 'you (adess.)', lennoлла 'flight (adess.)', poigaлла 'son (adess.)', pitšällä 'long, tall (adess.)', tüttärikoлла 'girl (adess.)', etc. As happens with final vowels of other case markers, the a and ä of the adessive very often disappear as a result of sandhi, e.g. rägutti sūrɐлл ālellä 'they shouted with big (i.e. loud) voices', nahka-īri päivāl ev ṷei lennellä 'a bat cannot fly about during the day', kɐiki лauлuл̄ tuлti 'everyone came singing'. In the case of apocope after a long vowel in main stress position, a short -l or -л can occur, e.g. meil velli jäi kotō 'we had our brother stay at home', teil sünnüp ṷtütär 'a daughter will be born to you'. Apocopated forms occur most consistently in the Jõgõperä sub-dialect. In the same sub-dialect -e/ -ɐ can occur as the final vowel of the adessive, e.g nurmɐллɐ 'meadow, field (adess.)', tšäelle 'hand (adess.)', silmille 'eyes (adess.)'. From the Eastern Votic sub-dialects an adessive with only a single -l has been noted also, e.g. pľodgaла 'whip (adess.)', opɐzɐла 'horse (adess.)', ūlä 'night (adess.)'.

The adessive in Votic is likewise a productive case. The following uses can be considered noteworthy. First of all, the adessive shows the place where or near which something (someone) is, e.g. kagra kazvap ṷpɐллoлла 'the oats grow on the field', Kattilaлла on kahs tšülā ettsā 'in Kattila there are two ends to the village', meil ühs velli jäi kotō 'one of our brothers stayed at home (lit. by us one brother stayed at home)', ɐlimma teil 'we were at your place', kɐiki piäb ṷɐлла kunikāл̄ 'everyone has to be by the king' (from a fairy tale).

The adessive shows the owner, e.g. meil ɐli ēzepī paska ɐло 'we had a bad life before', miл̄ on üvä lehmä 'I have a good cow', pɐdraлла on sūrɐt ṷsarvɐD 'the elk has big horns', tüttärikoлла bɐлɐ emā 'the girl doesn't have a mother'.

The adessive indicates that person or object to whom or to which something happens, e.g. teil sünnüp ṷtütär 'a daughter will be born to you', sɐsarɐлла kōlī poika 'the sister had a son die', ädďäl kɐлpaiz ṷülē panna '(it) would be suitable for the father-in-law to put on (to wear)'.

The adessive denotes the tool, the means with which or with the assistance of which something is accomplished. Likewise the adessive denotes the person by whom some action is performed, e.g. menivädṷлaivaлла sinne 'they went there by boat', rägutti sūrɐлl ṷālellä 'they shouted with a big (i.e. loud) voice', pāzgodṷ vɐttavad lennoлла tšimō tšīni 'flying the swallows catch the bee',

(however, to express the instrumental concept in question, the comitative is more commonly used); tämä ɐli atamanaлла vargasɐttu 'he was robbed by the devil' (from a fairy tale), siлла on vɐtɐttu bābuškaлt üvä tširja kāsa 'you have taken a good letter along from your grandmother'.

The adessive may express a situation that has some action occuring simultaneously with it, e.g. kɐikī лauлuл̄ tuлtī 'everyone came singing'. However, to express this relationship the comitative is still more commonly used.

The adessive indicates the time when something occurs, e.g. nahka-īri päivāl ev ṷei lennellä 'during the day a bat cannot fly about', ɐlin lidnaza sü ṷtšüzüllä 'I was in town in the fall'. With this case, time is also expressed in such a manner that the noun is in the partitive (see § 23) and the numeral or pronoun in front of it is in the adessive, e.g. senel päivā 'on that/this day', ühel kɐrtā tuli sūr tūli 'once there came a big wind'.

The adessive denotes duty, obligation, need, or the person or thing that should do something, e.g. kui miл̄ mennä tɐisɐ̄ tšülā? 'how should I go to the other village?, miл̄ piäb ṷleivät ṷsɐtkua 'I have to knead the breads (i.e. the dough)', tāl piti ɐлla kahtē·tɐ·ššɐmɐ̄ tunnissā 'he had to be (there) until twelve o'clock', kummaл̄ silmät ṷtšin panna? 'who (of two) has to close his eyes?'.

The adessive can occur together with the now completely neutralized possessive suffix. This combination has an adverbial function, e.g. uhzɐ̄ ɐli jättännü ragoллā 'he had left the door ajar', tāl on kɐrvad ṷlokkōллā 'his ears are drooping', ürvüllā 'stooped'.

§ 29. The ablative marker is -лta/-ltä, -лtɐ/-lte, -лt/-lt, e.g. mālta 'land, ground (abl.)', miltä 'I (abl.)', naizɐлta 'woman, wife (abl.)', tüttärikoлta 'girl (abl.)'. -лt/-lt can occur due to sandhi, or as a shortened form, e.g. ɐli vanaлt naizɐлta jānnü tütär 'from the former wife a daughter had remained', tält tšüzütti 'he was asked (lit. from him [it] was asked)', minū maлt vällā! 'out of my land!'. Apocopated forms are most common in the Jõgõperä sub-dialect. In this same sub-dialect ɐ and e can occur as a result of reduction of final -a and -ä, respectively, e.g. värttenelte 'distaff (abl.)', tšässilte 'hand (abl.)', paikɐлtɐ 'spot, place (abl.)'.

The ablative shows the person or being from whom something is obtained or from whom something proceeds or starts out, e.g. sain tširjā poigaлta 'I got a letter from (my) son', ɐssi sɐvat ṷsɐbraлta 'he bought the clothes from (his) friend', tšüzüp ṷtält 'he asks him (lit. he asks from him)'.

The ablative can indicate the place from which someone (something) is coming or going. Likewise it indicates the person from

whose place someone (something) is coming or going, e.g. kēs ремлюлта тулемma 'when we come from the field', pojot ˘tulivad ˘ jarvелта entšimassa 'the boys came from the lake from fishing', tulin bābuškaлта 'I came from grandmother's place' kui menелт virstaлт tuli 'how many versts (=0.6629 miles) did he come from away'.

The ablative designates the person or object in respect to whom or which a connection is broken off, e.g. suелта äntä kadgattī 'the tail was pulled off the wolf', miлta jaлgā murtī 'my leg was broken (lit. from me it broke the leg)', avas ˘ karулт silmäD 'he opened the bear's eyes (lit. he opened from the bear the eyes)' (from a fairytale), tō ezad ˘ ühtē eväd ˘ mennūd ˘ mehelt 'the man didn't have the sections of the work fit together (lit. from the man the sections of the work didn't go together)'.

The ablative shows the person or being by whom something is accomplished, e.g. елen mūnettu neđđaлт 'I am deformed by the witch' (from a fairytale).

The ablative can indicate the time from which something originates, e.g. vōsi vuvvелта on parapi elā 'from year to year living becomes better (lit. year from year is better to live)'.

The ablative can also occur together with the semantically neutralized possessive suffix. In such instances, the ablative has an adverbial function, e.g. калa esettī elävältā 'the fish was bought alive', sōp ˘ tšihvaлtā 'he eats (it) hot', rägahtī kert nimeltā 'he shouted/called (someone) once by name'.

§ 30. Quite generally throughout the entire Votic language area the translative marker is -ssi, -ssiG. However, in sandhi the form -s̄ can also occur, although apocope is not so common with this particular case as it is with the other cases, e.g. ōssi 'night (transl.)', tēssi 'road (transl.)', ülepässi 'chief, superior (transl.)', mälehtühsessi 'remembrance, souvenir (transl.)', naizessi 'woman, wife (transl.)', antēssi 'as forgiveness', келmettomassi 'third (transl.)', but huллuš meni 'he went crazy', velgaš vetamma 'we take as/to a debt'.

In Eastern Votic the translative marker ends in a stop, e.g. ūsessiG 'night (transl.)', vanassiG 'old (transl.)'. In the subdialects of present day Votic only the word mi 'what' has in quite a few localities the translative form mihsi, in addition to the regular translative forms missi~miš. As the notations from the last century indicate, at that time -hsi could have appeared as the sign of the translative in other instances also, as for example in the words tšivehsi 'stone, rock (transl.)', suehsi 'wolf (transl.)' (Jõgõperä). The translative in -hsi is especially general in

Ahlqvist's Wotisk grammatik. It is probable, however, that Ahlqvist was merely theorizing in regard to the translative.

The translative first of all indicates the situation, relation, or state which is attained, e.g. lämmittāš tšihvassi 'it is heated hot, it is heated until it will be hot', sai naizessi Trifonā tüttärē 'he got Trifona's daughter for a wife', лauta krāzgattī musassi 'the table was painted black', tē lühüpässi 'make (sing.) (it) shorter', nī eli meil senaš tehtü 'so we had agreed (lit. thus by us was made for/to the word)'.

The translative shows the situation, the state in which someone (something) is, e.g. tahte елла kеikkea ülepässi 'he wanted to be superior to everyone' (Mati).

Further, the translative shows the time during which some action takes place or stops, or the time before which an action occurs, e.g. tulin silлe ühessi tunnissi 'I came to your (sing.) place for an hour', soлdatti tšüsü ōssi 'the soldier asked (for lodging) for the night', Īvana tei vimezessi 'Ivan was the last to bring (it) (lit. Ivan brought as/to the last)', келmettomassi piäb ˘ emmелла tšiutto 'as the third (thing) a shirt has to be sewed'.

The translative designates purpose, e.g. nā tāria tēssi! 'here take (sing.) some small beer along for the road! ', antagā antēssi! 'forgive! (pl.) (lit. give as forgiveness!)', missi (~miš) tämä on hakka? 'why (for what purpose) is she an old woman?'

Finally, the translative indicates the language that is spoken, e.g. pajatan vađđaлaizessi, vađđakossi 'I speak Votic', juttē māssi! 'say (sing.) it in Votic (in the language of the land)!', kui on venäissi? 'how is it in Russian?', virossi 'in Estonian'.

§ 31. The essive marker is -na/-nä, -ne/-ne, -nna/-nnä, -nne/-nne. In sandhi, the essive case ending can also be -n and -n̄. In the individual sub-dialects of the Votic language, the form of the essive marker is very varied. First of all, there are subdialects where -na/-nä occurs with the vowel stem, and -nna/-nnä with the consonant stem, e.g. лahsena 'child (ess.)', nōrena 'young (ess.)', kotona 'home (ess.)', tallikkeizena 'lambkin (ess.)', naizikkona 'woman (ess.)', but tševännä 'spring (season) (ess.)', ōmenna 'tomorrow', келmenna 'three (ess.)'. In many Votic villages, however, the geminated essive marker is general also for the vowel stems, e.g. üvännä 'good (ess.)', emännä 'mother (ess.)', ehtagonna 'evening (ess.)', kōллūnna 'dead (ess.)', prāznikkanna 'feast day (ess.)', setamehennä 'soldier, warrior (ess.)' (Mati, Kõrvõttula, Lempola), pēnenne 'small (ess.)', ohtegonne 'evening (ess.)' (Jõgõperä). Shortened forms resulting from sandhi can be heard in all villages, e.g. marjoikā süönnünn ˘ елла 'to get full from

eating berries', tuлe̯n ōme̯n̄ pā̄n 'I will come tomorrow', ize meni tūлe̯n̄ 'he himself went as the wind' (Lempola).

As a predicate adverb the essive expresses the idea of being something or being considered as something, e.g. älä e̯лe̯ tuisku-tupurinna ja лaiska-лapurinna 'don't (sing.) be a madcap or a lazy-bones' (Lempola), kui miä e̯lin tüttärikkona Kattiлaлла 'when as a girl I was at Kattila', lēb‿лahzē̯ emännä 'she will become mother to the child', e̯lin se̯tamehennä Tallinaza 'I was in Tallinn as a soldier', vai siä karjuššin̄ e̯лe̯D? 'are you the shepherd?'.

The adverbial function of the essive also includes that of indicating state or manner, e.g. tahto üvänä (~üvännä) e̯лла 'he wanted to be good, he wanted to make himself appear good', makāb‿jo kōлūna (~kōллūnna) māta tšebiätä 'already he is sleeping dead in the "light" earth', marjoikā süönnünn‿e̯лла 'to get full from eating berries' (Lempola), e̯лe̯izit‿siä sīnä tūлē̯ tuiskuna (~tuiskunna)'if you (sing.) would be there like a whirlwind (i.e. as fast as that)'.

The essive expresses time that is more or less definite, e.g. se e̯li e̯htagona (~e̯htagonna) 'that was in the evening', näväd‿ne̯istī ōmnikkon̄ 'they got up in the morning' (Mati), viďďespā̄n lähsi 'he started to go on Friday', tämä süntü jo men'n'ä vōn 'he was born last year already', prāznikkan e̯li tšüläzä paľľo vätšiä 'on the feast day there were many people in the village'.

The essive even indicates location, e.g. issuzivat‿ke̯ikī лavvā takana 'they all sat behind the table', tšen on kotona? 'who is at home?', elimme izā̄ vellē tüvenne 'we lived at father's brother's place' (Jõgõperä).

The essive can also have a possessive suffix, the function of which has been neutralized, e.g. e̯li ühsinā̄ 'he was alone, by himself', ühste̯·ššeme̯t̄ tunnia sāp‿täünnā̄ 'the time will be eleven o'clock' (Mati), ülleüdnā̄ kauniZ 'completely red' (Itšäpäivä), on va aivonā ühs rōja 'it is but pure (one) mud'.

§ 32. The excessive marker is -nD, e.g. traktoristinD 'tractor operator (excess.)', soлdatinD 'soldier (excess.)'. The excessive is not a common case throughout the Votic language area. Its use is limited primarily to words designating persons and animals.

The excessive indicates departure from a situation or sphere of action, e.g. tuli Faďei kotŭò soлdatinD 'home came Fadei from being a soldier', tuлe̯b‿vällĕ̀ā karjušinD 'he comes away from being a shepherd', sütšüzül̄ meneb‿vällĕ̀ā traktoristinD 'in the fall he will leave the position of tractor operator' (Lempola), tuli terviȅssi läsivänD 'he got well from the sickness' (Pummala), tuli kottō e̯pe̯t-tajanD 'he came home from the teaching profession' (Mati).

In the Votic language area the adverbs takanD 'from behind', and kotonD~kotonta 'from home' also occur in the excessive. The excessive has been recorded only in the singular.

§ 33. The abessive marker is -tta/-ttä, -tte̯/-tte, -ta/-tä, and in Eastern Votic -ttaG/-ttäG. In sandhi the abessive case can also have the sign -t̄ (Jõgõperä, Mati), e.g. iлmā leivättä 'without bread (abess.)', iлmā minutta 'without me (abess.)', iлmā pillīttä 'without the musical instruments (abess.)', iлmā лahjoittā 'without the wedding gifts (abess.)'. Abessive forms having only a single -t have been recorded from the Mati sub-dialect, e.g. iлmā leivätä 'without bread (abess.)', puhassamata 'cleaning (abess.)'. But even in this sub-dialect, the geminate marker of the abessive can be heard. As a result of sandhi, the apocopated case marker can occur, e.g. jaлkoit̄ 'feet (abess.)', arvàme̯t̄ 'thinking, guessing, assuming (abess.)' (Jõgõperä). The forms leivättäG 'bread (abess.)', minuttaG 'I (abess.)', etc. are characteristic of Eastern Votic. Jõgõpära has tšäette 'hand (abess.)', rahatte̯ 'money (abess.)'.

Usually the abessive occurs together with the preposition iлmā 'without'. It expresses absence or relinquishment, e.g. iлmā minutta siä et‿tunne̯ mennä 'you don't know how to go without me', jäin iлmā pillīttä 'I was left without the musical instruments' tanttsi iлmā rivatta 'he danced with his legs bare (lit. without leggings)'.

§ 34. The usual comitative marker in Votic is -kā, which in sandhi can also appear as -kà, -ka. The shortened sandhi form -G can be observed in both the Eastern and Western sub-dialects. In the singular the marker of the comitative is added to the genitive stem. In the plural, it is added to the genitive plural or to the plural stem (which actually is the short form of the plural genitive), e.g. jaлgākā 'foot (com.)', jaлkoikā 'feet (com.)', ope̯zē̯kā 'horse (com.)', tüttärēkā 'daughter (com.)', tuttärīkā 'daughters (com.)', puďďēkā 'trees (com.)', tanttsi Morozovā poigāG (~poigāk) 'she danced with the son of Morozov' (Mati), te̯in-te̯izē̯G 'with each other' (Kõrvõttula), menim̄ izā̀kà nīttämā̄ 'we went with father to mow', tappe̯li karùkà 'he fought (struggled) with the bear' (Jõgõperä).

It should be noticed that vowel harmony does not apply to the comitative marker which retains its back vowel even in front vowel words. Only in the sub-dialect of the village of Kukkuzi do the parallel forms -kā/-k'ā̄ occur, e.g. лahsēkā 'child (com.)', but lehmā̄k'ā̄ 'cow (com.)'.

The comitative expresses first of all the idea of being with or beside, e.g. eli izā̄kā ja emā̄kā 'he lived with his mother and father', nämäd‿menivät‿poigākā 'they went with the son' (Lempola), tšenēkā siä isud‿rinnā? 'with whom are you sitting side by

side?', jutteli tüttärikkoikā 'he conversed with the girls', elin lehmīkā karjaza 'I was in the grazing pasture with the cows'.

The comitative designates the means or the tool with which something is accomplished, e.g. таллаz‿jалгākā 'he trod with his foot', rikkę kęik pād‿opęzękā 'he broke all the pots with a horse', sęvętti üvi kęikękā 'he dressed (trans.) well with everything', kęrętākā paŋget‿pihaлла 'pails with a yoke (for carrying water) on one's shoulder'. To express the relationship in question here, the adessive is also used, although the use of the comitative is more common (see § 28).

The comitative shows that with which someone (something) is equipped, e.g. verēkā varvaZ 'a bloody toe, a toe with blood', ęunappū ęunęikā 'an apple tree with apples', seittsemē paikākā kātsaD 'pants with seven patches', kaľaska kauni rattaikā 'a carriage with red wheels', mikä pākā on? 'what is wrong with the head?' tuli vāľeŋkoikā rihēsē 'he came with felt boots (i.e. with felt boots on his feet) into the room, inside'.

In rare instances the comitative can also indicate time, e.g. miä ęлęn üö-päivę̆ākā karjuššiñ 'I am days and nights a shepherd' (Lempola).

Finally, the comitative can indicate the manner of doing something, e.g. ęlimma tōzä arttelīkā 'we were at work in great numbers'.

There is no concord of case between the comitative and the nouns and adjectives used in conjunction with it. The adjective is usually in the genitive, as it is in Estonian. However, if the adjective is especially emphasized, congruence may occur, e.g. mesizīkā mēlīkā 'with a sweet (honeyed) disposition', menin vana-pāk‿poigāG 'I went with the older son' (Mati).

Several scholars of the last century, and even some from the present century, do not recognize the Votic comitative as it is presented here. In its place they have noted down the genitive plus the postposition kā, e.g. tämǟ kā 'with him/her'. It is still probable, however, that even at that time the comitative existed as a quite independent case Authors have evidently been led astray by the fact that vowel harmony does not apply to the comitative marker, as well as by the fact that the development of this case marker from a former postposition is in every respect still evident.

§ 35. The terminative marker is -ssā, which is added to the illative or the allative. In Eastern Votic it has the form -ssāG or even -ssāk, e.g. лęunässā 'noon, south (termin.)', silтässā 'bridge (termin.)', mahässā 'ground, land (termin.)', põлęssā 'half (termin.)', mätšēssā 'hill, mountain (termin.)', tüttärikkössā 'girl (termin.)', bābuškaллęssā 'grandmother (termin.)', pęлло-

лęssā 'field (termin.)'; in Eastern Votic there is silтässāG 'bridge (termin.)', mettsässāG 'forest (termin.)', kreipostissāk 'fortress (termin.)' (Itšäpäivä). Adding the terminative marker to the allative is relatively rare.

The terminative has developed from the allative or the illative, to which the postposition sā 'to, until' has been added. In fact, several earlier scholars of the Votic language have recorded it as illative plus postposition. It is probable that for the most part these scholars have done so on purely theoretical grounds, using the etymological viewpoint as their basis for analysis. Yet, because of the several examples appearing in Ahlqvist's work, (Wotisk grammatik 117), it can still be assumed that his informants could have had sā as an independent word. In this respect examples such as kotôse sâ 'up until home' wäsümâse sâ 'up until tiredness', should be noticed. Here the emphatic -sē/-sę is attached to the illative, in front of the present day marker of the terminative

The terminative marker is not affected by vowel harmony; it is always back vocalic. Also, this case marker does not require concord of case for the noun and adjective which precedes it The adjective is either in the illative or the allative

The terminative indicates first of all the place up to or until which someone (something) is going or coming, e.g. vaďďaлaisī tšüliä on лaukässā 'there are Votic villages up to Lauga', kanava menep‿Kattiлaллęssā 'the canal goes up to Kattila', anna miллę bābuškaллęssā tšävvä 'let me go up to grandmother's place', johsi kotōssā 'he ran up to (his) home'.

Further, the terminative shows the time up until which an action occurs, e.g. ęlimma pęллолла лęunässā 'we were in the field until noon', puлmia mändžittī ōmnikkössā 'the wedding was celebrated until morning', ęlimma eittsezä vaлgętikkössā 'we were out tending the animals until dawn', tämä ęli ęnnęva vanässā i surmässā 'he was happy until his old age and until his death'.

Finally, the terminative expresses the measure, the span that is reached or to be reached, e.g. on täünā (~täünnā) põлęssā 'it is filled up to the half mark', tšävi kęлmę̄ kęrtässā 'he went there up to three times', sȭ kęikkęa ęttsässā 'eat (sing.) everything to the end, eat everything'.

§ 36. The cases thus far presented are the productive cases of Votic These can be used with all nominals, provided the context within which a word occurs so permits. With the exception of the comitative, the terminative, and the excessive, all of these cases have already been noted in Ahlqvist's Votic grammar. However, several assumed former cases still exist in the Votic language.

In present day usage these appear only as remnants of bygone forms. Such cases are the instructive, the comitative II, the prolative, and the lative.

§ 37. The marker of the instructive is the long stem vowel of the singular, the long stem vowel of the plural, or the plural stem which ends in a diphthong. Words affected by gradation are in the weak grade, e.g. kẹikī 'all, everything (instr.)', tšäzī 'hand (instr.)', mēlī 'mind (instr.)', kẹvī 'hard (instr.)'.

The instructive, first of all, indicates the manner in which an action occurs, e.g. tēn tōtä üvī mēlī 'I work (lit. do the work) gladly', en vẹta vätšizī 'I don't take with force', лahzẹd‿johsẹvat‿palľai päi 'the children are running bareheaded'.

The instructive expresses the means or the tool with which an action is accomplished, e.g. tšäzī tehtī 'it was made by hand, with the hand', tulimma jaлkazī 'we came on foot'.

The instructive also expresses number, quantity, measure, and time, e.g. ẹlimma seittsemē naizikō 'we were seven women', kẹikẹ̄ kẹлmẹ̄ minďā 'all three daughters-in-law', kẹikī piäb‿ẹлла 'all have to be', kahẹ̄ tšezzē 'by twos, in two', kẹлmẹ̄ tšümmenī kopeikō vẹtti nagлassa 'he took thirty copecks for a/per pound', ẹlivad‿vīzī päivī 'they were for five days, in sequences of five days'.

Concerning the instructive, see more detailed information under adverbs (§ 117).

§ 38. The comitative II occurs with only a few dozen words. The usual marker of this comitative is -nā/-nǟ, which is added to the plural stem, e.g. kẹikkinā 'all (com. II), in general', pẹлvinā 'on one's knees', naisinā 'women (com. II)'. In sandhi the final vowel of this case marker can be half-long: -nà/-nä̀. A comitative ending in -nē/-nẹ̄ has been noted in the Jõgõperä sub-dialect, e.g. tẹmpẹz‿jūrinẹ̄ 'he pulled (it up) with the roots', perènè i poikìkà 'with the family and the boys'. It can be assumed that the comitative having this particular vowel structure is an obvious Ingrian feature which is found in the Jõgõperä sub-dialect. After all, this sub-dialect abounds in other Ingrian loans also.

First of all, the Votic comitative II indicates the idea of being along, of being with, e.g. tuлẹmma poigad‿naisinā 'we boys come with our wives', kẹik̄ tẹizẹt pereinǟ tuллas̄ 'all the others are coming with their families', tẹmpazin pū jūrinā 'I pulled the tree out with its roots'.

The comitative II indicates the tool, e.g. miä vẹtan tšäsinǟ 'I am taking with my hands', лutisap‿sẹrminā 'he is squeezing with his fingers'.

Further, the comitative II expresses the manner of action, e.g. nẹisivat‿pẹлvinā 'they fell on their knees', ẹhsinā päivinǟ tōmma pū kotōsẹ̄ 'with branches and everything we bring the tree home'.

The comitative II can also express number, e.g. ühsinǟ~ühsnǟ 'alone, by oneself'.

§ 39. The prolative can occur only with a few isolated words, such as aлẹtsẹ̄ 'from the bottom, from below', mānaлatsẹ̄ 'from below/under the ground', ülitsē 'from above'. See more detailed information under adverbs.

§ 40. The former lative case likewise occurs with only a few words, which function completely as adverbs, e.g. aлā '(to) below, under', tagā '(to) behind'. See more detailed information under adverbs.

The formation of the plural

§ 41. It has been mentioned above (§ 20) that in Votic the plural marker for the nominative is -D, and that this is added to the stem obtained from the genitive singular. The formation of the plural for the remainder of the cases is rather complicated, since in the individual sub-dialects the plural stem varies considerably, and its formation does not coincide with the formation of the Estonian and Finnish plural stems. With the exception of the nominative, the plural marker is i which can be added to the singular stem of a word in several ways. According to individual words or sub-dialects this marker i may have disappeared from the present day usage of the language, a fact which makes the formation of the plural all the more difficult.

The plural marker i is added directly to the singular stem of words which have -ẹ, -u, -ü as their stem vowel, as well as to the singular stem of the longer o-stem words (and of disyllabic o-stem words in Eastern Votic and Jõgõperä), e.g. vävüilē 'sons-in-law (all.)' (:vävülē 'son-in-law [all.]'), lintuiлла 'birds (adess.)' (:linnuлла 'bird [adess.]'), paŋkẹissa 'buckets (elat.)' (:paŋgẹssa 'bucket [elat.]'), ẹhtagoiлла 'evenings (adess.)' (:ẹhtagoлла 'evening [adess.]'), vẹrkkoissa 'nets (elat.)' (:vẹrkossa 'net [elat.]').

In words that have -ā, -ǟ, -ẹ̄, -ē, -ū, -ǖ or the diphthongs -ẹa, -iä as stem vowels, 1) the long vowel of the singular stem becomes shortened before the i of the plural is added to the stem; 2) the second component of the diphthong -ẹa disappears before the plural marker; 3) likewise, the second component of the diphthong -iä disappears, and in place of the vowel i the vowel e occurs

instead, e.g. maina 'countries, lands (ess.)' (:māna 'country, land [ess.]'), rattaiлла 'wheels, wagon (adess.)' (:rattālla 'wheel [adess.]'), seipäittä 'stakes, poles (abess.)' (:seipättä 'stake, pole [abess.]'), ōnęissa 'buildings (elat.)' (:ōnęssa 'building [elat.]'), lähteizä 'sources, springs (iness.)' (:lähtēzä 'source, spring [iness.]'), kōллuiлla 'dead (adess. pl.)' (:kōллūлla 'dead [adess. sing.]'), lühüissä 'short (elat. pl.)' (:lühüssä 'short [elat. sing.]'), kęrkęilę 'high (all. pl.)' (:kęrkęalę 'high [all. sing.]'), pimeissi 'dark (transl. pl.)' (:pimeässi 'dark [transl. sing.]'). In some villages (Kattila and its vicinity; Pihlaala) word types like pehmèä 'soft (sing.)', vaлkęa 'white (sing.)' can have a long ī in the plural instead of the diphthongs ęi and ei, e.g. pehmītä 'short (part. pl.)'. For words of this type the long ī is also characteristic of Eastern Votic where an additional feature is the gemination of a consonant occuring before the long ī, e.g. piммitä 'dark (part. pl.)'.

If the first syllable of a word has a, ę, or i, the stem vowel a changes to o before the plural marker, e.g. akanoiлta 'chaffs (abl.)' (:akanaлla 'husk, chaff [adess.]'), katagoiza 'junipers (iness.)' (:katagaza 'juniper [iness.]'), adroiлla 'plows (adess.)' (:adraлla 'plow [adess.]'), jaлkoissa 'feet (elat.)' (:jaлgassa 'foot [elat.]'), sęnoissa 'words (elat.)' (:sęnassa 'word [elat.]'), siлtoiлla 'bridges, floors (adess.)' (:siллaлla 'bridge [adess.]'), sępoi 'clothes (part.)' (:sępā 'clothing, a piece of clothing [part.]'). However, the majority of the words that have ę in the first syllable belong to the following group.

If the first syllable of a disyllabic word has o, ę, or u, the stem vowel a becomes ę before the plural marker i, e.g. poikęilę 'boys (all.)' (:poigaлę 'boy [all.]'), sębręilę 'friends (all.)' (:sębraлę 'friend [all.]'), also sępei 'clothes (part.)', nurkkęiza 'corners (iness.)' (:nurkkaza 'corner [iness.]').

In a few disyllabic words whose first syllable contains the diphthong ei, the vowel o is substituted for the stem vowel ä in front of the plural marker, e.g. einoiлla 'hay (adess. pl.)' (:einällä 'hay [adess. sing.]'), leipoiza 'breads (iness.)' (:leivätä 'bread [iness.]'), seinoiлlę 'walls (all.)' (:seinälē 'wall [all.]').

Special attention should be given to 1) disyllabic words whose stem vowel is e, ę (i in the nominative), o, i, and to a certain degree u; and also to 2) those words of more than two syllables whose stem vowel is o or i. Before the plural marker i, these words have the vowels a or ä instead of their singular stem vowel, e.g. tšiväizä 'rocks, stones (iness.)' (:tšivezä 'rock, stone [iness.]'), ęлkaita 'straw (part. pl.)' (:ęлkęa 'straw [part. sing.]'), irsäissä

'logs (elat.)' (:irressä 'log [elat.]'), лahsaiлlę 'children (all.)' (:лahzęлlę 'child [all.]'), pojaiлlę 'boys (all.)' (:pojoлlę 'boy [all.]'), pęлtaissa 'fields (elat.)' (:pęллossa 'field [elat.]'), taлaisę 'farms (ill.)' (:taлōsę 'farm [ill.]'), ahvakkaissa 'perch (fish) (elat. pl.)' (:ahvakossa 'perch [elat. sing.]'), karjuššaiлlę 'shepherds (all.)' (:karjušiлlę 'shepherd [all.]'), pilläitä 'musical instruments (part.)' (:pilliä 'musical instrument [part.]'). This particular manner of forming the plural is characteristic of one part of the Western Votic villages. But even in those localities where this manner of forming the plural is common, it does not occur with all the words of this type. The ai plural is most typical of disyllabic o-stem words.

In unstressed syllables the diphthongs ai, äi, ęi as well as the diphthong oi can lose their second component i, e.g. tšimaлlę 'bees (all.)', paлossi 'pieces, portions (transl.)', ęzręna 'oats (ess.)', kōrmęttä 'by loads', sębręлlę 'friends (all.)'. In the partitive plural of the Mati sub-dialect, the disappearance of the second component of the diphthong is especially common. In this case a long vowel occurs in place of the diphthong, e.g. aлkā 'sticks of firewood (part.)' tšiv̆vā 'stones, rocks (part.)', ęhsę 'branches (part.)', seinō 'walls (part.)', kagrō 'oats (part.).

The plural stems of all those noun types that have not been mentioned here have either a long ī or a short i in place of their singular stem vowel, e.g. pesiä~pesītä 'nests (part.)' (:pesā 'nest [part.]'), seppissä~sepissä 'smiths (elat.)' (:sepässä 'smith [elat.]'), varęhsia 'crows (part.)' (:varęssa 'crow [part.]'), naisīlę 'women (all.)' (:naizęlę 'woman [all.]'), tšäzillä~tšäsīllä 'hands (adess.)' (:tšäellä 'hand [all.]'), vanapīlę 'older (all. pl.)' (:vanapaлę 'older [all. sing.]'), sāttajīlę (and also sāttajęilę) 'senders (all.)' (:sāttajaлę 'sender [all.]'), ärtšīlē 'bulls (all.)' (:ärjälē~ärdžälē 'bull [all.]'), vokkiza 'spinning wheels (iness.)' (:vokkiza 'spinning wheel [iness.]'), nōrīssa 'young (elat. pl.)' (:nōręssa 'young [elat. sing.]').

The plural and singular stems of words such as ratiZ 'shed', kalliZ 'dear' are identical, e.g. kallīлla 'dear (all. sing. and pl.)', rattīza 'shed, sheds (iness.)'.

In words like koto 'home, house', rōto 'fishbone' the diphthong oi occurs in the plural stem, e.g. roitta 'fishbones (abess.)', koissa 'homes (elat.)'. However, the parallel forms kotoissa, rōtoissa also occur.

In those Votic dialects where secondary gemination occurs before a long vowel, a single consonant can also become geminated in front of the long ī of the plural, e.g. tšässīllä 'hands (all.)' (Jõgõperä), piммīssä 'dark (elat.)' (Eastern Votic).

§ 42. After the pattern of the Ingrian language, both the Western and Eastern sub-dialects of Votic can have -лoi/-löi as the plural marker. This type of plural is more common in those sub-dialects that come into direct contact with the Soikkola Ingrian sub-dialects, e. g. minďaлoiлḡ 'daughters-in-law (all.)', tüttölöissä 'girls (elat.)', jarviлoiza 'lakes (iness.)', püssülöillä 'guns (adess.)', nīttülöillä 'meadows (adess.)' (Mati). In these same sub-dialects the plural marker -лai/-läi can also occur, e.g. kaunīлaiл̄ 'red (adess. pl.)', sętamehiläil̄ 'warriors, soldiers (adess.)', vittsoлaiл̄ 'switches (adess.)' (Kõrvõttula).

§ 43. Characteristic of the Votic plural is the occurrence of the strong grade in words of two or more syllables that are subject to consonant gradation, e. g. jaлkoissa 'feet (elat.)' (:sing. jaлgassa), peлtaiлla 'fields (adess.)' (:peллoлla), poikęiлḡ 'sons (all.)' (:poigaлḡ), tšäsīssä 'hands (elat.)' (:tšäessä), naisiлḡ 'women (all.)' (:naizęлḡ), lintuiлla 'birds (all.)' (:linnuлla), tüttärikkoissa 'girls (elat.)' (:tüttärikossa). Numerous examples of the strong grade of the plural may be found in § 41.

If, however, the plural does not have a long ī or a diphthong, then dialectally the weak grade occurs even in the plural, e. g. pezizä 'nests (iness.)' (:pezäzä), jaлgossa 'feet (elat.) (:jaлgassa).

§ 44. In speaking of plural markers, the emphatic suffix of the illative, -sē/-sḡ, must also be mentioned. In present usage of the language this suffix is added to both the singular and plural stems. Ahlqvist, however, consistently presents forms like rattīsī 'sheds (ill.)', lehtaisī 'leaves (ill.)', siлtoisī 'bridges (ill.)'. Consequently, he gives -sī as the emphatic suffix for the plural. It is probable that on this point Ahlqvist has not theorized on the basis of Finnish dialects, since such a plural suffix has been noted even in more recent times, e. g. pḡsaisī 'bushes (ill.)' (Kõrvõttula).

Declensions

§ 45. Now the declensions of the Votic nominals will be considered according to their most significant groupings. Actually the Votic language has but one general declension, which, according to the different word types, shows in the singular only very small deviations. The main differences in the declension occur in the formation of the plural.

One-stem words

§ 46. Declension I. Monosyllabic words that end in a vowel, such as mā 'land, country', лū 'bone', sō 'swamp, marsh', tō 'work', pā 'head', täi 'louse', vęi 'butter, oil' belong to this declension.

	Singular		
Nom.	mā	tō	täi
Gen.	mā	tō	täi
Part.	māta	tōtä	täitä
Ill.	mahā(sḡ)	töhē(sē)	täihē(sē)
Iness.	māza	tōzä	täizä
Elat.	māssa	tōssä	täissä
All.	māлe(sḡ)	tōlē(sē)	täilē(sē)
Adess.	māллa	tōllä	täillä
Abl.	māлta	tōltä	täiltä
Transl.	māssi	tōssi	täissi
Ess.	māna	tōnä	täinä
Excess.	(does not occur in any context)		täinD
Abess.	mātta	tōttä	täittä
Com.	mākā	tōkā	täikā
Termin.	māssā	tōssā	täissā

	Plural		
Nom.	māD	tōD	täiD
Gen.	maďďē	töďďē	täďďē
Part.	maita	töitä	täitä
Ill.	maisḡ	töisē	täisē
Iness.	maiza	töizä	täizä
Elat.	maissa	töissä	täissä
All.	maiлḡ(sḡ)	töilē(sē)	täilē(sē)
Adess.	maiллa	töillä	täillä
Abl.	maiлta	töiltä	täiltä
Transl.	maissi	töissi	täissi
Ess.	maina	töinä	täinä
Excess.	----	----	----

Abess.	maitta	töittä	täittä
Com.	maďďēkā	töďďēkā	täďďēkā
Termin.	maisḡssā	töisēssā	täisēssā

All cases are listed in the declension given above. In those that follow, only the nominative, genitive, partitive, illative, and elative will be given, since from these cases the characteristics of the particular declension under consideration will be sufficiently evident.

§ 47. Declension II. Disyllabic words that have -o, -u, -ü, -i, and -ḡ as the stem vowel, as well as longer words having -o as the stem vowel belong to this declension, e.g. vḡrkko 'net', koto 'home, house', kaivo 'well', lintu 'bird', sātu 'garden, orchard', лauлu 'song', vävü 'son-in-law, tšälü 'wife's sister', sīli 'hedgehog', лusti 'pretty, fine, grand', paŋkḡ 'bucket', tüttärikko 'girl', naizikko 'woman', ḡhtago 'evening', etc.

Singular

Nom.	vḡrkko	lintu	vävü	sīli
Gen.	vḡrkō	linnū	vävū̄	sīlī
Part.	vḡrkkua~ vḡrkkoa	lintua	vävüä	sīliä
Ill.	vḡrkkō(sḡ)	lintū(sḡ)	vävū̄(sē)	sīlī̄(sē)
Elat.	vḡrkossa	linnussa	vävüssä	sīlissä

Plural

Nom.	vḡrkoD	linnuD	vävüD	sīliD
Gen.	vḡrkkojē~ vḡrkkoďďē~ vḡrkkoi	lintujē~ lintuďďē~ lintui	vävüjē~ vävüďďē~ vävüi	sīlijē~ sīliďďē~ sīlī
Part.	vḡrkkoita~ vḡrkkoi~ vḡrkkoja	lintuita~ lintui~ lintuja	vävüitä~ vävüi~ vävüjä	sīlītä~ sīlī
Ill.	vḡrkkoisḡ	lintuisḡ	vävüisē	sīlīsē
Elat.	vḡrkkoissa	lintuissa	vävüissä	sīlissä

§ 48. Declension III. Disyllabic a-stem words, and words of more than two syllables that have a, ḡ, or i in the first syllable

belong to this declension, e.g. jaлka 'foot', adra 'plow', akana 'chaff, husk', vasara 'hammer', kattiла 'kettle', sḡna 'word', sḡpa 'clothing', siлta 'bridge, floor'.

Singular

Nom.	jaлka	vasara	sḡna	siлta
Gen.	jaлgā	vasarā	sḡnā	siллā
Part.	jaлkā~ jaлkāta	vasarā~ vasarāta	sḡnā~ sḡnāta	siлtā~ siлtāta
Ill.	jaлkā(sḡ)	vasarā(sḡ)	sḡnā(sḡ)	siлtā(sḡ)
Elat.	jaлgassa	vasarassa	sḡnassa	siллassa

Plural

Nom.	jaлgaD	vasaraD	sḡnaD	siллaD
Gen.	jaлkojē~ jaлkoďďē~ jaлkoi	vasarojē~ vasaroďďē~ vasaroi	sḡnojē~ sḡnoďďē~ sḡnoi	siлtojē~ siлtoďďē~ siлtoi
Part.	jaлkoita~ jaлkoi~ jaлkoja	vasaroita~ vasaroi~ vasaroja	sḡnoita~ sḡnoi~ sḡnoja	siлtoita~ siлtoi~ siлtoja
Ill.	jaлkoisḡ~ jaлkosḡ	vasaroisḡ~ vasarosḡ	sḡnoisḡ~ sḡnosḡ	siлtoisḡ~ siлtosḡ
Elat.	jaлkoissa~ jaлgossa	vasaroissa~ vasarossa	sḡnoissa~ sḡnossa	siлtoissa~ siллossa

§ 49. Declension IV. This declension contains several words which have front vowels in the singular and back vowels in the plural, e.g. einä 'hay', leipä 'bread', seinä 'wall'.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	einä	einäD
Gen.	einā̄	einojē~ einoi
Part.	einā̄~ einātä	einoita~ einoi~ einoja
Ill.	einā̄(sē)	einoisḡ

Elat.	einässä	einoissa

§ 50. Declension V. Disyllabic a-stem words that have o or u in the first syllable belong to this declension. Also, the majority of those disyllabic a-stem words having ę in the first syllable belong here too, e.g. poika 'son', sępa 'clothing' (dialectally), sębra 'friend', nurkka 'corner'.

Singular

Nom.	poika	nurkka	sębra
Gen.	poigā	nurkā	sębrā
Part.	poikā~ poikāta	nurkkā~ nurkkāta	sębrā~ sębrāta
Ill.	poikā(sę̄)	nurkkā(sę̄)	sębrā(sę̄)
Elat.	poigassa	nurkassa	sębrassa

Plural

Nom.	poigaD	nurkaD	sębraD
Gen.	poikęjē~ poikęi	nurkkęjē~ nurkkęi	sębręjē~ sębręi
Part.	poikęita~ poikęi~ poikęja	nurkkęita~ nurkkęi~ nurkkęja	sębręita~ sębręi~ sębręja
Ill.	poikęisę̄	nurkkęisę̄	sębręisę̄
Elat.	poikęissa	nurkkęissa	sębręissa

§ 51. Declension VI. Words ending in -ęa/-eä~-iä are in this declension, e.g. kęrkęa 'high', vaɲkęa 'white', pimiä~pimeä 'dark', pehmiä~pehmeä 'soft', tšūnteliä 'candle'.

Singular

Nom.	vaɲkęa	pehmiä~pehmeä
Gen.	vaɲkęa	pehmiä~pehmeä
Part.	vaɲkęata	pehmiätä~pehmeätä
Ill.	vaɲkęasę̄	pehmiäsē~pehmeäsē
Elat.	vaɲkęassa	pehmiässä~pehmeässä

Plural

Nom.	vaɲkęaD	pehmiäD~pehmeäD
Gen.	vaɲkęijē~ vaɲkęi	pehmeijē~pehmījē~ pehmī
Part.	vaɲkęita~ vaɲkęi	pehmeitä~pehmītä~ pehmei~pehmī
Ill.	vaɲkęisę̄	pehmeisē~pehmīsē
Elat.	vaɲkęissa	pehmeissä~pehmīssä

In the Jõgõperä sub-dialect the declension of this word type differs from the given examples to such a degree as to merit a separate presentation, e.g. vaɲkā=vaɲkęa 'white'.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	vaɲkā	vaɲkāD
Gen.	vaɲkā	vaɲkaję̄~vaɲkęję̄
Part.	vaɲkātę	vaɲkaitę~vaɲkęitę
Ill.	vaɲkāsę̄	vaɲkaisę̄~vaɲkęisę̄
Elat.	vaɲkāssę	vaɲkaissę~vaɲkęissę

§ 52. Declension VII. To this declension belong single stem, disyllabic words that have -i in the nominative, but whose stem vowel is -e/-ę, e.g. kurtši 'stork', jarvi~järvi 'lake', taɲvi 'winter', mätši 'hill', tšivi 'stone', velli 'brother'. Sub-dialectally, either all or part of these words may be declined according to Declension IX.

Singular

Nom.	kurtši	jarvi	mätši
Gen.	kurgę̄	jarvę̄	mäę̄
Part.	kurkęa	jarvęa	mätšeä~ mätšiä
Ill.	kurkę̄(sę̄)	jarvę̄(sę̄)	mätšē(sē)
Elat.	kurgęssa	jarvęssa	mäessä

Plural

Nom.	kurgęD	jarvęD	mäeD

Gen.	kurtšijē~ kurtšī	jarvijē~ jarvī	mätšijē~ mätšī
Part.	kurtšia~ kurtšīta	jarvia~ jarvīta	mätšiä~ mätšītä
Ill.	kurtšīsḡ	jarvīsḡ	mätšīsē
Elat.	kurtšīssa	jarvīssa	mätšīssä

§ 53. Declension VIII. The ä-stem words are declined according to this declension. Also included in this declension are those a-stem words that have two syllables, the first of which contains ḡ, as well as those that have more than two syllables, e.g. seppä 'smith', tšülä 'village', tšäppä '(burial) mound', sättaja 'sender', лауаja~лауоja 'singer', kḡva 'hard'. Dialectally, part of the words that belong here can be declined according to Declension IX.

Singular

Nom.	seppä	sättaja	kḡva
Gen.	sepä	sättajā	kḡvā
Part.	seppä~ seppätä	sättajā~ sättajāta	kḡvā~ kḡvāta
Ill.	seppäsē	sättajāsḡ	kḡvāsḡ
Elat.	sepässä	sättajassa	kḡvassa

Plural

Nom.	sepäD	sättajaD	kḡvaD
Gen.	seppijē~ seppijē~ seppī	sättajijē~ sättajijē~ sättajī	kḡvijē~ kḡvijē~ kḡvī
Part.	seppiä~ seppītä	sättajia~ sättajīta	kḡvia~ kḡvīta
Ill.	seppīsē	sättajīsḡ	kḡvīsḡ
Elat.	sepissä~ seppīssä	sättajissa~ sättajīssa	kḡvissa~ kḡvīssa

§ 54. Declension IX. A feature particularly characteristic of the dialect around Kattila is the formation of the plural by means of the diphthong -ai/-äi. This way of forming the plural can also

be found in other localities of the Western Votic area. Nowhere, however, is this plural form exclusive. In Eastern Votic this particular type of plural is, on the whole, rare. First of all, o- and i-stem words of two or more syllables belong to this declension, e.g. pḡлto 'field', pojo 'boy', ahvakko 'perch (fish)', pilli 'musical instrument', karjušši 'shepherd'. Also in this declension are monosyllabic as well as disyllabic words that have -e or -ḡ as their stem vowel, but which have -i in the nominative, e.g. ḡлtši 'straw', tšivi 'stone, rock', лahsi 'child', irsi 'log'. Subdialectally or according to individual usage, these words can be declined according to either Declension VII or Declension X. A few u-stem words belong here too, e.g. tširppu 'flea'.

Singular

Nom.	pḡлto	ahvakko	ḡлtši	irsi	karjušši
Gen.	pḡллō	ahvakō	ḡлgḡ	irrē	karjušī
Part.	pḡлtua~ pḡлtoa	ahvakkua~ ahvakkoa	ḡлkḡa	irttä	karjuššia
Ill.	pḡлtō(sḡ)	ahvakkō(sḡ)	ḡлkḡ(sḡ)	irtē(sē)	karjušīsḡ)
Elat.	pḡллossa	ahvakossa	ḡлgḡssa	irressä	karjušissa

Plural

Nom.	pḡллoD	ahvakoD	ḡлgḡD	irreD	karjušiD
Gen.	pḡлtajē~ pḡлtai	ahvakkajē~ ahvakkai	ḡлkajē~ ḡлkai	irsäjē~ irsäi	karjuššajē~ karjuššai
Part.	pḡлtaita~ pḡлtai	ahvakkaita~ ahvakkai	ḡлkaita~ ḡлkai	irsäitä~ irsäi	karjuššaita~ karjuššai
Ill.	pḡлtaisḡ	ahvakkaisḡ	ḡлkaisḡ	irsäisē	karjuššaisḡ
Elat.	pḡлtaissa	ahvakkaissa	ḡллkaissa	irsäissä	karjuššaissa

Two-stem words

§ 55. Declension X. A large group of two-stem words whose vowel stem ends in -e or -ḡ (with -i in the nominative) belong to the same declension, e.g. nōri 'young', лahsi 'child', tuli 'fire', kḡrsi 'straw', tšūsi '(finger, etc.) nail', tšäsi 'hand', kahsi 'two', лumi 'snow', sīni 'russule (mushroom)'. In this word group, special attention should be directed to the partitive singular, which can be quite varied in its details, e.g. nōrta, лassa, tuлta, kḡrtta, tšūttä,

tšättä, ɲunta, kahta, sīntä. In principle, however, the partitive is still declined according to the same general pattern. In all the plural cases only the vowel stem is used. The consonant stem is used in the partitive singular. In some sub-dialects words of this declension can also be declined according to Declension IX.

	Singular			
Nom.	tuli	ɲumi	tšäsi	kęrsi
Gen.	tuɲē	ɲumē	tšäęē	kęrrē
Part.	tuɲta	ɲunta	tšättä	kęrtta
Ill.	tuɲē(sē)	ɲumē(sē)	tšätē(sē)	kęrtē(sē)
Elat.	tuɲęssa	ɲumęssa	tšäessä	kęrręssa

	Plural			
Nom.	tuɲęD	ɲumęD	tšäeD	kęrręD
Gen.	tulijē~ tulījē~ tulī	ɲumijē~ ɲumījē~ ɲumī	tšäsijē~ tšäsījē~ tšäsī	kęrsijē~ kęrsījē~ kęrsī
Part.	tulia~ tulīta~ tulī	ɲumia~ ɲumīta~ ɲumī	tšäsiä~ tšäsītä~ tšäsī	kęrsia~ kęrsīta~ kęrsī
Ill.	tulīsē	ɲumīsē	tšäsīsē	kęrsīsē
Elat.	tulīssa~ tulissa	ɲumīssa~ ɲumissa	tšäsīssä~ tšäzissä	kęrsīssa~ kęrzissa

§ 56. Declension XI. Those words which have -Z in the nominative, but whose vowel stems have -hs-, -ss-, or -s-, according to the dialect, are declined like the sample word varęZ 'crow'. Other such words are ivuZ 'hair', jäneZ 'rabbit', sęrmuZ 'ring' aɲuZ 'base, boat'. The consonant cluster -hs- is characteristic of the vicinity of Kattila. The Jõgõperä sub-dialect has -s-. Elsewhere -ss- occurs.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	varęZ	varęhsęD, etc.
Gen.	varęhsē~ varęssē~ varęsē	varęhsijē~varęhsījē~ varęhsī, etc.

Part.	varęssa	varęhsia~varęhsīta, etc.
Ill.	varęhsēsē	varęhsīsē
Elat.	varęhsęssa	varęhsīssa

§ 57. Declension XII. Words which have -n~-ne/-nę in the nominative singular, but whose vowel stems have -se-:-ze-/-sę-:-zę-, according to consonant gradation, belong here, e.g. nain~nainę 'woman, wife', opęin~opęinę 'horse', vaďďaɲain~vaďďaɲainę 'a Vote', sinin~sinine 'blue'.

	Singular		
Nom.	nain~ nainę	sinin~ sinine	vaďďaɲain~ vaďďaɲainę
Gen.	naizē	sinizē	vaďďaɲaizē
Part.	naissa	sinissä	vaďďaɲaissa
Ill.	naisē(sē)	sinizē(sē)	vaďďaɲaisē(sē)
Elat.	naizęssa	sinizessä	vaďďaɲaizęssa

	Plural		
Nom.	naizęD	sinizeD	vaďďaɲaizęD
Gen.	naisijē~ naisījē~ naisī	sinizijē~ sinizijē~ sinizī	vaďďaɲaisijē~ vaďďaɲaisījē~ vaďďaɲaisī
Part.	naisia~ naisīta	siniziä~ sinizītä	vaďďaɲaisia~ vaďďaɲaisīta
Ill.	naisīsē	sinizīsē	vaďďaɲaisīsē
Elat.	naisīssa~ naizissa	sinizīssä~ sinizissä	vaďďaɲaisīssa~ vaďďaɲaizissa

§ 58. Declension XIII. In this declension are those two-stem words that have a long vowel in the nominative singular, e.g. sēmē 'seed', kęɲvatō 'unsuitable', unętō 'sleepless', ramotō 'weak', vętī 'key'. In addition, some of those two-stem words that have a diphthong in the nominative singular also belong here, e.g. süä 'heart'.

	Singular		
Nom.	sēmē	vętī	unętō

Gen.	sēmenē	vɐttimɐ̄	unɐttomā
Part.	sēmētä	vɐtīta	unɐtōta
Ill.	sēmenē(sē)	vɐttimɐ̄(sɐ̄)	unɐttomā(sɐ̄)
Elat.	sēmenessä	vɐttimɐssa	unɐttomassa

Plural

Nom.	sēmeneD	vɐttimɐD	unɐttomaD
Gen.	sēmenijē~ sēmenī, etc.	vɐttimijē~ vɐttimī, etc.	unɐttomijē~ unɐttomī, etc.
Part.	sēmeniä~ sēmenītä	vɐttimia~ vɐttimīta	unɐttomia~ unɐttomīta
Ill.	sēmenīsē	vɐttimīsɐ̄	unɐttomīsɐ̄
Elat.	sēmenīssä~ sēmenissä	vɐttimīssa~ vɐttimissa	unɐttomīssa~ unɐttomissa

Ordinal numbers from third upward are declined like the sample words given above, e.g. kɐɲmaZ~kɐɲmaiZ~kɐɲmāZ~kɐɲmɐZ 'third', nelläZ~nelläiZ~nellāZ~nelleZ 'fourth'. As an example, the singular of these two words, as found in the Kattila and Jõgõperä sub-dialects, will be presented.

Nom.	kɐɲmaZ~kɐɲmɐZ	nelläZ~nelleZ
Gen.	kɐɲmattomā~ kɐɲmɐttɐmā	nellättomā~ nellettɐmā
Part.	kɐɲmatta~ kɐɲmɐttɐ	nellättä~ nellette
Ill.	kɐɲmattomā(sɐ̄)~ kɐɲmɐttɐmā(sɐ̄)	nellättomā(sɐ̄)~ nellettɐmā(sɐ̄)
Elat.	kɐɲmattomassa~ kɐɲmɐttɐmɐssɐ	nellättomassa~ nellettɐmɐssɐ, etc.

§ 59. Declension XIV. Those words whose nominative ends in -aZ/-äZ, -iZ, or -e/-ɐ belong to this declension, e.g. ammaZ 'tooth', seiväZ 'stake, pole', ratiZ 'shed', päre 'splinter used as a torch', siɐ 'binding'.

Singular

Nom.	ammaZ	ratiZ	siɐ

Gen.	ampā	rattī	sitɐ̄
Part.	ammassa	ratissa	siɐtta
Ill.	ampāsɐ̄	rattīsɐ̄	sitɐ̄sɐ̄
Elat.	ampāssa	rattīssa	sitɐ̄ssa

Plural

Nom.	ampāD	rattīD	sitɐ̄D
Gen.	ampaijē~ ampaďďē~ ampai	rattījē~ rattiďďē~ ratti	sitɐijē~ sitɐďďē~ sitɐi
Part.	ampaita~ ampai	rattīta~ ratti	sitɐita~ sitɐi
Ill.	ampaisɐ̄	rattīsɐ̄	sitɐisɐ̄
Elat.	ampaissa	rattīssa	sitɐissa

§ 60. Declension XV. Words such as lühüD 'short', ɐhuD 'thin', kõɲɲu 'dead', süntünü~süntünnü 'born', iɲozuZ 'beauty', rikkauZ 'wealth'.

Singular

Nom.	lühüD	kõɲɲu	iɲozuZ
Gen.	lühū	kõɲɲū	iɲozū
Part.	lühüttä	kõɲɲutta	iɲozutta
Ill.	lühūsē	kõɲɲūsɐ̄	iɲozūsɐ̄
Elat.	lühūssä	kõɲɲūssa	iɲozūssa

Plural

Nom.	lühūD	kõɲɲūD	iɲozūD
Gen.	lühüijē~ lühüďďē~ lühüi	kõɲɲuijē~ kõɲɲuďďē~ kõɲɲui	iɲozuijē~ iɲozuďďē~ iɲozui
Part.	lühüitä~ lühüi~ lühüziä	kõɲɲuita~ kõɲɲui~ kõɲɲuzia	iɲozuita~ iɲozui
Ill.	lühüisē	kõɲɲuisɐ̄	iɲozuisɐ̄
Elat.	lühüissä	kõɲɲuissa	iɲozuissa

In the Jõgõperä sub-dialect forms like lühüD, kõллu have the singular stem lühē-, kõллē-, and the plural stem lühei-, kõллei-. Probably the latter forms have been influenced by the pattern found in Ingrian dialects, the more so since individual speakers may also use as the singular stem words like tšättšŭ 'cradle', ehū 'thin (gen.)'. The distribution of the stem vowel of the singular, -ē-/-ē-, is almost universal in the past participle.

§ 61. The general patterns of changes in the nominals of the Votic sub-dialects have been presented in the above declensions. It has been necessary to disregard the less significant dialect patterns, as well as single-word deviations.

As has already been mentioned, the Votic language makes no distinction in the declining of nouns, adjectives, numerals, and pronouns. The whole system operates on the same general principles. In the declension of nouns and other nominals, concord occurs with all cases except the terminative, and partly the comitative. With both of these cases, the noun alone has the case marker. The word preceding the noun is either in the genitive, e.g. nõrē pojõkā 'with a young boy', ühē senākā 'with one word'; or it is in the illative, e.g. paллavāsē päivässā 'until the hot day'.

However, there are words which, when used attributively, never change, e.g. koko 'whole', rikki 'broken': mā-munaD vętin rikki kauakaллossa 'I took the potatoes from the broken trough'. Adjectives such as vaďďā 'Votic', virõ 'Estonian', venäi 'Russian' do not change either, e.g. sān arvua vaďďā tšēlessä 'I can understand the Votic language'.

It should be noted that in proper names, only the last element is changed, regardless of whether the names are used according to the Votic or the Russian usage, e.g. Pedrā Pavo 'Paul the son of Peter':

Nom.	Pedrā Pavo	~	Pavel Petrovitš
Gen.	Pedrā Pavõ	~	Pavel Petrovitšā
Part.	Pedrā Pavua	~	Pavel Petrovitšā(ta)
All.	Pedrā Pavoлlē	~	Pavel Petrovitšaлlē

Comparison of adjectives

§ 62. The comparative marker of adjectives is -pi~-p in the nominative, -pā/-pā in the genitive, e.g. sūrępi~sūręp 'bigger', iлokkāpi~иokkāp 'prettier', vaďďakkāpi 'more Vote-like', лaugupassi 'slacker (transl.)', kęrkęapaD 'higher (plural)', vanapaллē

'older (all.)', pahapassi 'worse (transl.)', enäpi 'more'. In Eastern Votic the comparative marker is -piG in the nominative, and again -pā/-pā in the genitive, e.g. kęrkęapiG 'higher', parapiG 'better'. As is seen from the examples given, the comparative marker is added to the genitive stem. However, in the majority of disyllabic words, the stem-final -a/-ä is replaced by -ę/-e in front of the comparative marker, e.g. musępi 'blacker' (< mussa 'black'), kęvępi 'harder' (< kęva 'hard'), süvepi 'deeper' (< süvä 'deep'). It should be noted that the comparative of üvä 'good' is parępi or parapi.

In words having gradation, the comparative is in the weak grade, even though now the comparative marker does not close the syllable.

The comparative is declined according to Declension VIII, as is shown by the example sūrępi 'bigger (sing.)'.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	sūrępi	sūrępaD
Gen.	sūrępā	sūrępijē~ sūrępī, etc.
Part.	sūrępā~ sūrępāta	sūrępia~ sūrępīta
Ill.	sūrępā(sē)	sūrępīsē
Elat.	sūrępassa	sūrępīssa~ sūrępissa

In Votic the comparative governs the partitive case of the word with which something is compared, e.g. lēt sūrępi ęmāta isā 'you (sing.) will become bigger than your father', huллupā sinua mā¿i·л-maza bęлę 'no one in the world is more foolish than you (sing.)' (Lempola), kęittšia parępiG 'better than all' (Itšäpäivä).

As a second possibility for expressing comparison, the word kui 'than' can be used with the comparative, e.g. miä ęлęn nõrępi kui meďďē minďa 'I am younger than our daughter-in-law (or: the wife of the younger brother of the husband)'.

In Votic the superlative does not have a distinctive marker. The superlative is expressed by the comparative preceded by kęikkęa 'all (part.)', kęikkia~kęittšia (Eastern Votic) 'all (part. pl.)', e.g. tahtę ęллa kęikkęa ülepässi 'he wanted to be the highest of all', kęikkia parępi or parep kęikkia 'best of all'. Also common is the use of sāmoi plus the positive degree of the adjective, which is a construction borrowed from the Russian, e.g. sāmoi sūri 'the biggest'.

The superlative can further be expressed by adding an augmentative adverb to the positive degree of the adjective, e.g. ęli ühs tütär izällä aivō iлoza 'the father had a very pretty daughter', värpo on aivō kavaлa lintu 'the sparrow is a very clever bird, the most clever bird', miä ęлęn enäp väsünnü 'I am the most tired'.

The equative degree of the adjective is expressed by the word niku 'like, as', e.g. mokoma niku tō̄ 'such as you (pl.)', nę̄b‿bōrizemā̄ niku ärtšä 'starts to bellow like a bull'.

Pronouns

§ 63. In their general characteristics the Votic pronouns are similar either to the noun or the adjective. They are divided into the following categories: personal, reflexive, reciprocal, possessive, demonstrative, interrogative, relative, and indefinite. In general the pronouns are declined like the rest of the nominals. Since, however, many pronouns have unusual declined forms, they have to be mentioned separately.

§ 64. Personal pronouns. In the singular, the Votic personal pronouns are miä 'I', siä 'you', tämä 'he, she'. As a shortened form or in sandhi the third person singular pronoun also occurs as täm. In the plural the personal pronouns are mō̄~mū̄ 'we', tō̄~tū̄ 'you', nämä~nämäD~näväD 'they'. The dialectal forms mū̄ and tū̄ belong to Eastern Votic and the Jõgõperä sub-dialect. The dialectal form näväD occurs in Eastern Votic and in the Mati sub-dialect. The Jõgõperä sub-dialect has nämäD; in the Kattila sub-dialect both nämä and nämäD can occur. The personal pronouns are declined as follows:

Singular

Nom.	miä	siä	tämä
Gen.	minū	sinū	tämā̄
Acc.	minū	sinū	tämā̄
Part.	minua	sinua	tätä
Ill.	minūsę̄	sinūsę̄	tämā̄sē
Iness.	minuza	sinuza	tämäzä
Elat.	minussa	sinussa	tämässä
All.	miллę̄~minuлę̄	siллę̄~sinuлę̄	tällē
Adess.	miлла~minuлла	siлла~sinuлла	tällä
Abl.	miлta~minuлta	siлta~sinuлta	tältä
Transl.	minussi	sinussi	tämässi
Ess.	minuna	sinuna	tämänä
Abess.	minutta	sinutta	tämättä
Com.	minūkā	sinūkā	tämā̄kā
Termin.	minūssā	sinūssā	tämā̄ssā

Plural

Nom.	mō̄~mū̄	tō̄~tū̄	nämä~nämäD~näväD
Gen.	međđē	teđđe	näđđē~nännē
Acc.	međđeD	teđđeD	nämä~nämäD~näväD
Part.	meitä	teitä	näitä
Ill.	meisē	teisē	näisē
Elat.	meissä	teissä	näissä

In a few villages in the vicinity of Kattila, the first and second person plural have an accusative with a separate marker, namely međđeD and teđđeD, e.g. međđed‿ętsittī 'we were being looked for' (Kõrvõttula), miä vętan i teđđet‿sinne 'I will even take you there' (Mati), teđđet‿kutsuttī 'you were called, invited' (Lempola). In the third person plural the accusative is like the nominative. In the singular the accusative is mostly like the genitive, although the partitive can also function as the accusative, e.g. nüd‿miä sinū panęn mehelē 'now I will marry you off (said to a girl)', mō̄ tämä vętamma 'we take her/him', i kattę nämä 'and (he/she) covered them' (Lempola), pesi näväD 'he/she washed them' (Mati), vęta miňnua naizęssi 'take (sing.) me for a wife', piäb‿vęttā tätä 'he/she has to take her/him' (Mati).

§ 65. The reflexive pronoun. The reflexive pronoun in Votic is ize~izze 'self', which occurs only in the nominative. In the remaining cases it has the stem en-~ene-:

Nom.	ize~izze	Part.	entä	Elat.	enessä, etc.
Gen.	enē	Ill.	enēsē		

The reflexive pronoun occurs primarily in the singular, e.g. miä vętan marjad enellē (~enelē) 'I take the berries for myself',

mō̄ ęsimma enelē musā opęzę̄ 'we bought ourselves a black horse'. However, plural usage has been noted from the Jõgõperä sub-dialect, e.g. eneiskā 'oneself (com.)', eneit 'oneself (part.)', eneissā 'oneself (termin.)'.

In his Votic grammar Ahlqvist is acquainted with the use of the reflexive pronoun together with the possessive suffixes, e.g. enelleni 'I myself (all.) (i.e. to me myself)', eneltänö 'you yourselves (abl.) (i.e. from you yourselves)', eneläsä or enellā̄ 'they themselves (adess.) (i.e. by/at them themselves)'. Even today the reflexive pronoun can occur with an attached possessive suffix, the meaning and function of which have become lost, so that only the third person suffix is used for all persons, e.g. tšäüsi enellēz‿naissa ęttsimā 'he went (repeatedly) to look for a wife for himself', vętan enellēZ (~enelleni) 'I take for myself'. The possessive suffix is added to the end of the word. However, in the comitative, it occurs within the word, before the case marker, e.g. eneskā 'oneself (com.) (i.e. with oneself)' (Lempola).

The reflexive pronoun can also be used in such a manner that the word ize occurs in the nominative, followed by the stem ene-~en- in the desired case, e.g. tämä petteleb‿ize entä 'he/she is deceiving himself/herself', miī̄ ize enellä on vana ämmä kotoñ 'I myself have an old mother (dim.) at home'. With regard to this singular feature the Votic language agrees with the Estonian language.

Moreover, the pronoun ize can also occur together with the personal pronouns, which change in accordance with the case required. In such instances the word ize has an emphatic function, e.g. tō̄ ize 'you yourself', teitä ize 'you yourself (part.)', teilē ize 'you yourself (all.) (i.e. to you yourself/selves)', teilēssā ize 'you yourself (termin.) (i.e. up to you yourself)'.

§ 66. Reciprocal pronoun. The reciprocal pronoun in Votic is tęin-tęizę̄ 'each other, one another (gen.)', tęin-tęissa (part.), etc., e.g. mō̄ tunnęmma üvī tęin-tęissa 'we know each other, one another well', pajattivat‿tęin-tęizęssa pahāta 'they spoke badly about each other'.

§ 67. Possessive pronoun. The possessive pronoun in Votic is ęma or dialectally nęma 'own'. Before the word ęma, the preceding word usually retains the genitive marker -n, e.g. minūn‿ęma 'my own', muďďēn‿ęma 'others'(i.e. belonging to others)', лahzę̄n‿ęma 'the children's'. Quite commonly the genitive -n has been carried over to the beginning of the following word ęma, e.g. poigā nęmaD 'the boys'', лahzę̄ nęma 'the child's'. If the possessive pronoun does not occur after the genitive, it keeps the form ęma, e.g. vei ęma majāsę̄ 'he/she took (it) into his/her own hut', ęsin ęmīлę̄

лahsaiлę̄ vassęzęt‿tšentšimühseD 'I bought my children new footwear'. In Eastern Votic the word ęma has become completely attached to the preceding word, e.g. minuma 'mine', sinuma 'yours (sing.), ižzā̄ma 'father's', em̆mā̄ma 'mother's'.

The word ęma is declined according to Declension VIII. Regarding this pronoun, it should be noted that there are still a few instances where remnants of possessive suffixes occur, e.g. et‿tantsi ęmaskā 'you (sing.) do not dance with your own', ęлęd‿ęnnę-vapi ęmīz‿vellītä 'you (sing.) are happier than your brothers', miä piän puлmęi ęmani tüttärellē 'I am celebrating a wedding for my daughter'.

In connection with the possessive pronoun, the Votic possessive suffixes in general have to be mentioned. Only in Votic folk songs are the possessive suffixes somehow distinguishable and still alive, e.g. vętab‿verta velleltäni 'he takes blood from my brother', meri meďďē ęvvęzani 'the sea in our yard', elä ukkā üvüttäsi 'do not (sing.) waste (destroy) your possessions', nęiskā tšäüt‿tšülleltänö 'rise, brothers-in-law, from your place (your side)', poikano 'your (pl.) son', tāttozakā 'with his own father, old man'. In present day language usage the possessive suffixes appear under very restricted conditions, which will be described in the following paragraphs.

A flattering or enticing way of calling someone is expressed by the first person possessive suffix, e.g. tuлę, poikani 'come (sing.), my son (dim.)', elän, ätäni 'I am living, my father (dim.)'.

Indications of the third person possessive suffix are seen in many adverbial expressions, e.g. meni ühsinā̄ 'he went alone', aлkę sętkua jaлkonā savvęa 'he started to knead the clay with his feet', uhzę̄ ęli jättänü ragoллā 'he had left the door ajar', kaлa ęsęttī elävältā̄ 'the fish was bought alive', ül̆leüdnā̄ 'in general, all over' (Itšäpäivä). To a certain degree, a third person possessive suffix of a different form is still in use, e.g. se vei javod‿akaлę̄Z 'this one took the flour (pl.) to his wife', tätä kuttsu ämmäs‿koto 'his mother-in-law called him home'. As has been mentioned above, the third person possessive suffix can also be used in connection with other persons, e.g. štobį saisęizin enellēZ‿ül̆lēs‿panna 'so that I could put (it) on me' (Mati).

It seems that the more the Votic language has lost ground, the more its use of the possessive suffixes has been reduced. Ahlqvist states (1856) in his Wotisk grammatik 46 ff. that in everyday speech the use of the possessive suffixes is becoming more and more infrequent. In present day language usage, the use of the possessive suffixes has diminished even more. In the middle of the last century the possessive suffixes of the proper person were most commonly

used together with the word ɛma 'own', e.g. anna kagroi ɛmazi opɛzīлɛ̄ 'give (sing.) some oats to your horse', tämä lōb ɛmaza naissa 'he hits his wife', mō rüissä nītämmä ɛmani sirppijēkā 'we cut the rye with our sickles', tō ajatta omano opɛzijēkā 'you are driving your horses', nämä ɛssavat kormā ɛmaza živatoiлɛ̄ 'they buy food for their animals'.

In addition to the possibilities already mentioned, today, along with the third person possessive suffix, possessive suffixes for the other persons also occur. This happens mostly in connection with the word ene- 'self', e.g. enellän 'I myself (adess.)', entän 'I myself (part.)', iлmā enettäZ 'without you yourself (abess.)', enelläZ 'you yourself (adess.)'.

In Eastern Votic the ending of the rudimentary third person possessive suffix is -G, e.g. ɛлkōd itšäzäG 'let them be their age'.

Hence, the system of Votic possessive suffixes as stated above is the following:

Singular		Plural	
I Person	-ni, -n	I Person	-ni
II Person	-zi, -Z	II Person	-no/-nö
III Person	-za/-zä, -Z, lengthening of the vowel, lengthening of the vowel + -zaG/ -zäG (Eastern Votic)	III Person	like III Person singular

§ 68. Demonstrative pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns in Votic are se 'this, that', kase 'this (here)', sama 'the same', mokoma 'such', kammuga 'such a', sesa·ma 'the very same', mokoma-sama 'the same kind'. Their declension is the following:

Singular

Nom.	se	kase~kasɛ
Gen.	senē	kazē~kazɛ̄
Part.	sitä	kasta
Ill.	sihē	kasēsē~kassē~kasɛ̄sɛ̄
Iness.	senezä~sīnä	kasenna~kasɛnna~kazeza
Elat.	senessä~sītä	kazessa~kazɛssa

All.	senelē~sellē~sillē	kazeлɛ̄~kazɛлɛ̄
Adess.	senellä~sellä~sillä	kazeллa~kazɛллa
Abl.	seneltä~seltä~siltä	kazeлta~kazɛлta
Transl.	senessi	kazessi~kazɛssi

Plural

Nom.	neD	kane~kanɛ~kanɛD
Gen.	ninnē~nennī~nennijē	kanejē~kanɛjē
Part.	nītä	kaneita~kanɛita
Iness.	nīzä	kaneiza~kanɛiza
Abl.	nīltä	kaneiлta~kanɛiлta

In sandhi se and neD can have a lengthened vowel, e.g. kui sē tēp se hakka? 'how is she doing, that woman?'. The shortened form of the word kase is kas, e.g. kas Īvana meneB 'this Ivan is going'.

Ahlqvist (Wotisk grammatik 45) gives the following forms of the pronoun se: sīnä (iness.), sītä (elat.), silē (all.), silä (adess.), siltä (abl.). sīnä and sītä occur even now, but they function mainly as adverbs. The external local cases just quoted are, however, either archaic or dialectally very restricted forms. In present day language usage, case markers added to the genitive stem are more general.

The pronouns mokoma and kammuga are declined according to Declension VIII. In compound pronouns, both components are declined, e.g. sesa·ma 'the very same (nom.)', senē-samā (gen.)', sitä-samā (part.)', mokomaлla-samaлla 'the same as (adess.)'.

§ 69. Interrogative pronouns. The interrogative pronouns are tšen~tšeŋka 'who', mi~mikä 'what', kumpa 'which of two', miltine~miltin~milline~millin~miltäin 'what kind, what sort', mikä-mokoma 'what kind', mɛnɛZ 'what kind, which one (in a sequence)'. Of these pronouns, kumpa, (gen. kummā), miltin, etc., (gen. miltizē) are declined like other nominals belonging to the corresponding word types. The pronoun tšen~tšeŋka is declined as follows:

Nom.	tšen~tšeŋka	Part.	tšetä	Elat.	tšenessä
Gen.	tšenē	Ill.	tšenēsē		

In the plural only the nominative tšeD occurs. The remaining cases,

though plural in context, are always singular in form, e.g. tšet‿siäl̄ tuлęvaD? 'who are coming there?', tšenēkā pajatit‿kujaллa? 'with whom were you (sing.) talking in the street?'.

In various dialects, the pronoun mi~mikä is extremely variable in its declension. The Kattila, Mati, and Jõgõperä forms are given in the following example.

The Eastern Votic forms are like those of Jõgõperä.

Nom.	mi~mikä	(same)	(same)
Gen.	minē	mizē	migā̄
Part.	mitä	mitä	mitä
Ill.	mihē~minēsē	missē	migā̄(sē)
Elat.	minessä	mizessä	migässä
All.	millē	mizelē~millē	migälē
Abl.	miltä	mizeltä~miltä	migältä
Transl.	mihsi	missi	mihsi
Com.	minēkā	miskā	migā̄kā, etc.

In the plural only the nominative occurs, which is migäD in Jõgõperä and miD elsewhere.

§ 70. Relative pronouns. The relative pronouns are kumpa 'who, what, which one of two' and mikä 'what'. The following are a few examples of their use: nōręp tütär, kummā täm tahtę enellēz‿mehelē 'the younger daughter whom (from among two) he wanted for a wife for himself', pojo, kummaл̄ on nenä pittšä, on Pavō Īvana 'the boy who has a long nose is Pavo Ivan', tšülä, kummaza ęlid‿eglē, on Mativę̄ tšülä 'the village in which you were yesterday is the village of Mati', lēb‿migällä sūrussaG 'there will be something to eat for breakfast' (Eastern Votic).

§ 71. Indefinite pronouns. The Votic indefinite pronouns are ūhsi~ühs 'one, someone', męni 'many, some, a few', męnikaZ 'a few, some', mū 'other', kęikki~kęik (Jõgõperä) ~kęittši (Eastern Votic) 'all', jęka~jeka~ikä (Jõgõperä) 'every, everyone', jękain 'everyone', koko 'whole', męлępaD~nęлępaD 'both'. The words koko, jęka~ikä are not declined. The remaining pronouns are declined like other nominals belonging to corresponding word types, e.g. jęka paikkaza 'in every place', nęлępat‿poigad‿menivät‿sętāsę̄ 'both sons went to war', ęlimmä siällä kęikī 'we were all there', en vęi juoллa jękaizęллę̄ 'I cannot tell everyone'.

A series of indefinite pronouns, such as the negative pronouns, are derived by means of certain affixes, e.g. eb‿mitäiD (dialectally eb‿mittā̆D, Mati) 'nothing', ep‿tšennīD 'nobody', eb‿ühsīD 'no one', eb‿miltineiD 'no kind, no sort'. These pronouns are declined so that the emphatic negative affix -iD always remains at the end of the word, e.g. en taho miltissäid‿mahsua 'I do not want any kind of payment', tämä eb‿juęллu tšelleiD 'he did not tell anyone', emmä pajata tšenessäiD 'we are not talking about anyone'.

In the Jõgõperä sub-dialect the negative indefinite pronouns are formed in the following manner: ebnī-tšen 'nobody', en nähnü ebnī-tšetä 'I did not see anyone', ebnī-tšenēssā 'up to nobody (termin.)'; ebnī-mikä 'nothing'.

Thirdly, the indefinite pronouns can be formed by the affixation of -lēB~-leB~-lē~-le, which is the isolated third person sing. future form lēB 'he will (be)', e.g. tšenlēB 'someone', mikälēB 'something', miltinlēB~millinlēB 'some kind of', kumplēB 'one of two'. Also in these words the derivative affix -lēB remains at the end, as the word itself changes, e.g. tšenlēB 'someone', gen. tšenēlēB, part. tšetälēB. Usually in place of the allative tšellēlēB the simpler form tšellēB occurs.

In the Jõgõpära sub-dialect indefinite pronouns can also be derived by the addition of the affix nibu·it, e.g. tšen-nibu·it 'somebody', mitä-nibu·it 'something'.

Numerals

§ 72. Cardinal numbers. The Votic Cardinal numbers are the following:

ühsi~ühs	1	kahęsā	8
kahsi~kahs	2	ühesā̄	9
kęлmęD~kęm	3	tšümmē	10
nellä	4	sata	100
vīsi~vīZ	5	tuhatta~tuhaD	1000
kūsi~kūZ	6	mil'joni	1,000,000
seitsē	7		

The longer forms given above usually occur as single, isolated numbers; the shorter forms occur attributively and in sandhi, e.g. kui męnt mēssä siällä on? — vīsi 'how many men are there? — five', vīZ mēssä tulivat‿tētä mō̄ 'five men came along the street',

kęm poikā 'three boys', kęik kęɹmęD 'all three'.

The numerals are declined like other nominals belonging to corresponding word categories. However, in their declension there are still a few peculiarities, so that a short survey of the paradigms of cardinal numbers should be given.

Singular

Nom.	ühsi	kahsi	vīsi	kūsi
Gen.	ühē	kahę̄	viđđē	kuvvę̄
Part.	ühtä	kahta	vittä	kūtta
Ill.	ühtē(sē)	kahtę̄(sę̄)	vītē(sē)	kūtę̄(sę̄)
Elat.	ühessä	kahęssa	viđđessä	kuvvęssa

Plural

Nom.	üheD	kahęD	viđđeD	kuvvęD
Gen.	ühsijē~ ühsījē~ ühsī	kahsijē~ kahsījē~ kahsī~ kahtoję̄ (Jõgõperä)	vīsijē~ vīsījē~ vīsī	kūsijē~ kūsījē~ kūsī
Part.	ühsiä~ ühsītä	kahsia~ kahsīta~ kahtoita	vīsiä~ vīsītä	kūsia~ kūsīta
Ill.	ühsīsē	kahsīsę̄~ kahtoisę̄	vīsīsē	kūsīsę̄
Elat.	ühsīssä	kahsīssa	vīsīssä	kūsīssa

The cardinal numbers given above are thus declined according to Declension X. Only the cardinal number kahsi 'two' has a parallel plural form which is declined according to Declension III. The remaining cardinal numbers are declined in the following manner:

Singular

Nom.	kęɹmęD	nellä	sata
Gen.	kęɹmę̄	nellā	sā
Part.	kęɹmęa	nellā~nellātä	satā~satāta
Ill.	kęɹmęsę̄	nellāsē	satāsę̄

Elat.	kęɹmęssa	nellässä	sässa

Plural

Nom.	kęɹmęD	nellädD	sādD
Gen.	kęɹmījē, etc.	nellījē, etc.	satojē, etc.
Part.	kęɹmīta~kęɹmia	nellītä~nelliä	satoita~ satoi, etc.
Ill.	kęɹmīsę̄	nellīsē	satoisę̄
Elat.	kęɹmīssa	nellīssä	satoissa

Thus, these cardinal numbers are declined according to Declensions VII, VIII, and III, respectively. The remaining cardinal numbers are declined according to Declension XIII.

Singular

Nom.	seitsē	kahęsā	tšümmē	tuhaD
Gen.	seittsemē	kahęssamę̄	tšümmenē	tuhattęmę̄
Part.	seitsettä	kahęsatta	tšümmettä	tuhatta
Ill.	seittsemē(sē)	kahęssamę̄(sę̄)	tšümmenē(sē)	tuhattęmę̄(sę̄)
Elat.	seittsemessä	kahęssamęssa	tšümmenessä	tuhattęmęssa

Plural

Nom.	seittsemeD	kahęssamęD	tšümmeneD	tuhattęmęD
Gen.	seittsemījē etc.	kahęssamījē etc.	tšümmenījē etc.	tuhattęmījē etc.
Part.	seittsemītä etc.	kahęssamīta etc.	tšümmenītä etc.	tuhattęmīta etc.
Ill.	seittsemīsē	kahęssamīsę̄	tšümmenīsē	tuhattęmīsę̄
Elat.	seittsemīssä	kahęssamīssa	tšümmenīssä	tuhattęmīssa

The word ühesā 'nine' is declined like kahęsā 'eight'. The nominative tuhatta 'one thousand' becomes tuhatā in the genitive.

The cardinal numbers from eleven to nineteen are formed as follows (according to the Kattila and Jõgõperä sub-dialects):

ühstę·šš̆ęmętta ~ ühstę·iš̆tš̆ümmeD 11

kahstę·ššęmętta	~	kahstę·iśťśümmeD	12
kęmtę·ššęmętta	~	kęmtę·iśťśümmeD	13
kahęsātę·ššęmętta	~	kahęsatę·iśťśümmeD	18
ühesā̄tę·ššęmętta	~	ühesätę·iśťśümmeD	19

Dialectally and in sandhi the short forms ühstę·ššęmęt̄, etc., can occur. In the Jõgõperä sub-dialect, in addition to the forms already given, ühstę·iššümmeD, etc., can also occur. As these compound cardinals change case, both components are declined, e.g. ühētę·ššęmę̄, ühtätę·ššęmętta, ühelētę·ššęmęлę̄, etc. Yet as a parallel the possibility of an unchanged first component is also to be noted, e.g. ühstę·ššęmę̄, ühstę·ššęmęлę̄.

The tens from twenty to ninety are formed as follows:

kahśťśümmettä~ kahtšümmettä	20	kūśťśümmettä	60
kęmtšümmettä	30	seitsētšümmettä	70
nellätšümmettä	40	kahęsātšümmettä	80
vīśťśümmettä	50	ühesā̄tšümmettä	90

Here also, dialectally or in sandhi, the final vowel can be omitted, e.g. kahtšümmet̄. The final vowel is nearly always omitted in the compound numbers kahtšümmet̄ ühsi 'twenty-one', kęmtšümmet̄ nellä 'thirty-four', seitsētšümmet̄ kūsi 'seventy-six', etc.

The hundreds and the thousands are also formed according to the same principle as the tens, e.g. kęmsatā 'three hundred', nellätuhatta 'four thousand'.

In these compound numbers, all the components are declined, e.g. viďďessä tšümmenessä 'fifty (elat.)', kahęлла sāлла 'two hundred (adess.)', kęлmęлла sāлла kuvvęлла tšümmenellä kahęssamęлла 'three hundred sixty-eight (adess.)'. However, it is possible alternatively to decline only the last number, e.g. kahtšümmet̄ ühessämeltä 'twenty-nine (abl.)', kahęsātšümmet̄ nellǟzä 'eighty-four (iness.)'. Together with kęлmęлла rubľaлла the form kęлmę̄ rubľaлла 'with three rubles' also occurs.

It is necessary to consider separately the genitive of the cardinal numbers, which expresses the idea of how many there are together, e.g. mȫ assuzimma tētä mȫ kęлmę̄ 'we three walked along the street', kahę̄ko tȫ rōpā seittä? 'did the two of you eat up the porridge?'.

The instructive of the cardinal numbers expresses an indefinite amount, e.g. kasenna taлvęnna eväd‿javod‿mahza kui kęлmī, nellī rubľī 'this winter flour does not cost more than about three, four rubles'.

Another concept that deserves special mention is the use of the cardinal numbers as indicators of time, e.g. kahstę·ššęmęt̄ tunnia ȫllä 'twelve o'clock at night', vītē tunnīsę̄ssā 'until five o'clock'.

§ 73. The Votic ordinal numbers are the following:

esimen~esimene~esimein 'first'	kahęssamaiZ, etc. 'eighth'
tęinę~tęin 'second'	ühessämäiZ, etc. 'ninth'
kęлmaiZ~kęлmāZ~kęлmaZ~kęлmęZ 'third'	tšümmenäiZ, etc. 'tenth'
nelläiZ~nelläZ, etc. 'fourth'	sāZ 'hundredth'
viďďeiZ, etc. 'fifth'	tuhattęmaiZ, etc. 'thousandth'
kuvvęiZ, etc. 'sixth'	vīmeine~vīmein~vīmene~vīmen 'last'
seittsemeiZ, etc. 'seventh'	

The ordinals esimein, tęin, vīmein are declined like all other nominals of Declension XII. The remaining ordinal numbers are declined according to Declension XIII.

In compound numbers the last component of the compound receives the ordinal marker:

ühstę·ššęmaiZ~ühstę·ššęmęiZ~ühstę·ššęmaZ, etc. 'eleventh'

kūstę·ššęmaiZ, etc. 'sixteenth'

kahtšümmenäiZ~kahtšümmeneiZ, etc.~kahtšümmäiZ, etc. 'twentieth'

seitsētšümmenäiZ~seitsētšümmäiZ, etc. 'seventieth'

kęлmętsāZ 'three hundredth'

vīstuhattęmaiZ, etc. 'five hundredth'

Dialectally all components of compound numbers may have the ordinal marker, as in Jõgõperä for example, nellästę·iśťśümneZ 'fourteenth',

kɐлmɐ̑stšümmeneZ 'thirtieth'. In longer ordinal numbers the ordinal marker is given to each unit, tenth, hundredth, thousandth, etc., e.g. kahtšümmenäiZ ühessämäiZ 'twenty-ninth', sāz‿nellätšümmenäiZ esimein 'one hundred forty-first'. Accordingly, all those components of a compound number that have the ordinal marker are declined, e.g. kahtšümmenettomā ühessämättomā 'twenty-ninth (gen.)'.

§ 74. Fractions. The Votic fractions are pōli~pōл 'one half', which is declined according to Declension X, pōlitɐissa~pōлtɐissa 'one and a half', pōli-kɐлmatta 'two and a half', pōli-viđđettä 'four and a half', etc. Of these fractions, only the first half is declined, e.g pōлta kɐлmatta 'two and a half (part.)', pōлɐssa nellättä 'three and a half (elat.)'.

Other fractions are formed with the help of the word ɐsa 'part', e.g. kɐлmaiZ~kɐлmaz‿ɐsa 'one third', viđđeiz‿ɐsa 'one fifth', kahs viđđettä ɐsa 'two fifths'. Together with the word nelläiz‿ɐsa 'one fourth', the form tšetvertti~tšetvertakka occurs. One fortieth is sorokofka, genitive sorokovgā.

§ 75. Indefinite numbers. In Votic the indefinite numbers are mitō~mittoma 'many', sitō~sittoma 'so many, so much', palʼo 'many, much', vähā̆ 'little', mɐni 'a few, some, many', mɐnɐZ 'which one (in a sequence)'. The Votic indefinite numbers can even function as indefinite pronouns, e.g. mitō mēssä 'many men (part.)', mittomaлta sittomaлta on tšüzüttü 'from many a person (it) has been asked', mɐnta päivā̆ ɐli, sitō päivā̆ i ōttɐli 'how many days there were, so many days he did wait', tämä ɐli jo kui mɐnɐz‿vɐ̄raZ '(I) don't know which (in number) guest that was already'. The indefinite numbers mitō and sitō are declined according to Declension XIII, palʼo according to Declension III, and mɐni according to Declension X. The words vähā̆ and mɐnɐZ are not declined. When declined forms are needed, the word vähäin 'little, small' is used in place of the former, and mɐni in place of the latter.

Verbs

Personal forms

§ 76. In Western Votic the marker of the first person singular is generally -n, which occurs in all tenses and moods, e.g. (miä) tuлɐn 'I come', elän 'I live', tulin 'I came', elin 'I lived', tuлɐisin~tuлɐizin 'I would come', eläisin~eläizin 'I would live'. In Eastern Votic the final -n has disappeared, and the stem vowel has been lengthened. If in front of the lengthened vowel there was a single

consonant, this consonant may have been geminated, e.g. (miä) annā 'I give', tuллɐ̄ 'I come', johsī 'I ran', tağgɐ̄ 'I hit, pounded', vɐttaisī 'I would take', mahsaisi 'I would pay'.

The marker of the first person plural is -mma/-mmä. In sandhi the Jõgõperä sub-dialect has -mmɐ/-mme. In Eastern Votic the corresponding marker is -mmaG/-mmäG, e.g. (mō) лugɐmma 'we read', elämmä 'we live', sāmma 'we get, are able', tširjotamma 'we write'; alɐgɐmmɐ tširjottā 'we started to write', nüttä sūmme i jūmmɐ 'now we eat and drink' (Jõgõperä); sāmmaG 'we get, are able', mūmmäG 'we sell', kannɐmmaG 'we carried', tšüsüzimmäG 'we asked' (Eastern Votic). In sandhi the final vowel of Western Votic may be omitted, e.g. kēs‿tuem̄ tağgāZ? 'when will we come back?' (Mati).

§ 77. The second person singular marker is -D, e.g. (siä) juttɐлɐD 'you say', tɐkuD 'you fall', viskaziD 'you threw', vɐttaiziD 'you would take'. In sandhi either the voiced -d or voiceless -t can occur in place of -D, e.g. vɐttaizid‿enellɐ̄Z 'you would take for yourself', ɐsit‿kaunī tšiutō 'you bought a red shirt'.

The second person plural marker is -tta/-ttä, -ttɐ/-tte (Jõgõperä), or -ttaG/-ttäG (Eastern Votic), e.g. (tō) tɐukkātta 'you push', pūzittä 'you caught'; süntüzitte 'you were born', suvazittɐ 'you loved'; ɐsattaG 'you buy', tširjɐtittaG 'you wrote'. In Western Votic the final vowel may again be omitted, e.g. minɐ̄ perǟs sūttuzīt kɐvassi? 'why did you get so very angry?'.

§ 78. The marker of the third person singular is -B, e.g. (tämä) annaB 'he/she gives', rā̆gahtāB 'he/she gives out a yell', issūB 'he/she sits down', tšääüB 'he/she walks'. In the past tense the third person singular marker is the stem of the past tense, which is always in the strong grade, e.g. rā̆gahtī 'he gave out a yell', jā̆tütti 'it froze', juttɐli 'he said', ɐssi 'he bought', johsi 'he ran', sei 'he ate', lei 'he hit', ajɐ 'he chased', antɐ 'he gave', vassazivassaZ 'he answered'. u- and ü-stem words just have the verb stem as such for the third person singular of the past tense, e.g. kuttsu 'he called, invited' (: kuttsuzin 'I called, invited'), issu 'he sat' (: issuzin 'I sat'), tšüsü 'he asked' (: tšüsüzin 'I asked'), süntü 'he was born' (: süntüzin 'I was born'). Dialectally the o-stem words can also have just the verb stem for the third person singular of the past tense, e.g. tahto 'he wanted', sɐiso 'he stood'. Usually, however, o-stem words have -ɐ as the stem vowel in the third person singular, past tense, e.g. tahtɐ 'he wanted' (: tahtozin 'I wanted'), rikkɐ 'he spoiled, damaged' (: rikkozin 'I spoiled, damaged'). Even the so-called contracted verbs can have -ɐ in the third person singular of the past tense, e.g. tɐukkɐ 'he pushed' (: tɐukkazin 'I pushed'),

viskɐ 'he threw' (: viskazin 'I threw'). The marker for the third person singular of the conditional is likewise only the strong grade stem of the conditional, e.g. antaissi~antaizi~antaiš~antaiZ 'he would give'.

The third person plural marker is -vaD/-väD, e.g. (nämä) aɹkavaD 'they begin, start', aɹkɐvaD 'they began, started', issuvaD 'they sit', issuzivaD 'they sat', eläväD 'they live', elivädD 'they lived', antaissivaD~antaizivaD 'they would give'.

In present day Votic sub-dialects it is quite usual for the impersonal to occur instead of the third person plural, e.g. nämä tuɹɹassɐ̄~tuɹɹāsɐ̄~tuɹɹassa~tuɹɹaš~tuɹɹaZ~tuɹɹā 'they come', nämä tuɹti 'they came', etc. The use of the impersonal has become especially widespread in very recent times. With some speakers its use is rare even now, with others, however, it is general. The Russian language has set the example for the occurrence of the impersonal, since in Russian the third person plural and the impersonal have the same marker (cf. Russian они говорят 'they speak, say' and говорят 'it is said', они говорили 'they spoke, said' and говорили 'it was said').

Tenses

§ 79. In Votic the verbs have the following tenses: present, imperfect, present perfect, past perfect, future, and future perfect. Of these the present and the imperfect are simple tenses. The present perfect, past perfect, future, and the future perfect are compound tenses which are formed with auxiliary verbs. Only in the case of the auxiliary verb does the future also occur as a simple tense. The helping verbs ɐɹɹa 'to be', and liddä 'to be in the future' are given below in all tenses.

Present

miä ɐɹɐn~ɐ̄n	mō̄ ɐɹɐmma~ɐ̄mma
siä ɐɹɐD~ɐ̄D	tō̄ ɐɹɐtta~ɐ̄tta
tämä on	nämä omaD~onvaD~ovaD

Imperfect

ɐlin	ɐlimma
ɐliD	ɐlitta
ɐli	ɐlivaD

Present perfect

ɐɹɐn ɐɹɹu~ɐɹɹuG	ɐɹɐmma ɐɹɹūD
ɐɹɐd‿ɐɹɹu, etc.	ɐɹɐtta ɐɹɹūD
on ɐɹɹu, etc.	omad‿ɐɹɹūD

Past perfect

ɐlin ɐɹɹu~ɐɹɹuG	ɐlimma ɐɹɹūD
ɐlid‿ɐɹɹu, etc.	ɐlitta ɐɹɹūD
ɐli ɐɹɹu, etc.	ɐlivaD‿ɐɹɹūD

Future

lēn~lēnen	lēmmä~lēnemmä
lēD~lēneD	lēttä~lēnettä
lēB~lēneB	lēvaD~lēnevädD

Future perfect

lēn ɐɹɹu~ɐɹɹuG	lēmmä ɐɹɹūD
lēd‿ɐɹɹu, etc.	lēttä ɐɹɹūD
lēb‿ɐɹɹu, etc.	lēväd‿ɐɹɹūD

In the Jõgõperä sub-dialect the plural has ɐɹɹɐ̄D.

§ 80. In Votic the present tense has no special marker in the active voice. Only the personal endings are added to the verb stem. In accordance with the rules of gradation, the stem is either in the strong or weak grade, e.g. annan 'I give', annaD 'you (sing.) give', annaB 'he gives', annamma 'we give', annatta 'you (pl.) give', antavaD 'they give'.

The passive voice, however, does have a special marker even for the present tense, concerning which see § 90 below.

§ 81. There are several possibilities for forming the Votic imperfect. With the exception of the third person singular, the imperfect has the same personal endings as the present. However, in the imperfect the verb has a different stem, the so-called past stem. The past stem can be obtained in the following ways:

Monosyllabic stems that end in a vowel have a diphthong in the past stem, e.g. sei 'he ate' (: sȭB 'he eats'), lein 'I hit' (: lȭn 'I hit, am hitting'), veiD 'you took' (: vēD 'you take'), saimma 'we

got' (: sämma 'we get'), jäittä 'you (pl.) remained' (: jättä 'you remain').

A second possibility is that instead of the present tense stem vowels -e, -ę, or -a, the imperfect stem has -i. a-stem words consisting of more than two syllables likewise have -i. Dialectally and in certain words, disyllabic verbs having their present stem in -a/-ä can also have this -a replaced by -i in the imperfect, e.g. tetšivädD 'they did, made' (: tetševädD 'they do, make'), pezimmä 'we washed' (: pezemmä 'we wash'), nęisivaD 'they rose, started' (: nęisęvaD 'they rise, start'), jutteli 'he said' (: jutteлęB 'he says'), jätin 'I left behind' (: jätän 'I leave behind'), elivädD 'they lived' (: elävädD 'they live'), püvvin (Mati)~pŭzin (Lempola) 'I caught' (: püvvän 'I catch'), leütivädD 'they found' (: leütävädD 'they find'), isutimma 'we planted' (: isutamma 'we plant'), vęittivaD 'they won' (: vęittavaD 'they win'), ęssi 'he bought' (: ęsaB 'he buys'), anti 'he gave' (: annaB 'he gives' [Liivküla]).

To a certain degree, some sub-dialects can have forms with long -ī in the past stem, e.g. murtī 'he broke' (: murraB 'he breaks' [Mati]), lentī 'he flew', kōlī 'he died', pakęnīvaD 'they fled' (Lempola). Long -ī also occurs in the imperfect if the present tense contains a long vowel, e.g. rägahtī 'he cried out, screamed' (: rägahtāB 'he cries out, screams'), nagrahtī 'he smiled' (: nagrahtāB 'he smiles'), tšŭdittī 'it haunted' (: tšŭdittaB 'it haunts'), kummartī 'he bowed' (: kummartāB 'he bows'), ęhtagoitti 'he ate supper' (: ęhtagoittāB 'he eats supper'), hüppī~üppī 'he jumped (: hüppäB~üppäB 'he jumps').

In the majority of Votic sub-dialects, disyllabic a-stem words whose first syllable also contains -a- have -ę as the stem vowel of the imperfect, e.g. ajęvaD 'they drove' (: ajavaD 'they drive'), kannęmma 'we carried' (: kannamma 'we carry'), alkę 'he began, started' (: algaB 'he begins, starts').

o-stem words have -ę as the stem vowel for the third person singular of the imperfect, e.g. sitę 'he tied' (: sioB 'he ties'), sęisę 'he stood' (: sęizoB 'he stands'), rikkę 'he spoiled, damaged' (: rikoB 'he spoils, damages), tahtę 'he wanted' (: tahoB 'he wants'). The remaining persons have the marker -zi- as in the verb group that follows.

There are two possibilities for forming the imperfect of those verbs that have -u, -ü, or -i as the stem vowel. The verb stem occurs only in the third person singular, e.g. kuttsu 'he called, invited' (: kutsuB 'he calls, invites), sŭttu 'he got angry' (: sŭtuB 'he gets angry'), süntü 'he was born' (: sünnüB 'he is being born'), ehti 'he decorated, embellished' (: ehiB 'he decorates, embellishes').

For the remaining persons the imperfect marker is -zi-, e.g. kuttsuzin 'I called, invited', sŭttuzimma 'we got angry', süntüzittä 'you (pl.) were born', ehtizivädD 'they decorated, embellished', sęizattuzin 'I stopped', sopiziD 'you (sing.) suited, agreed'. Sub-dialectally o-stem verbs also belong to this category, e.g. tahto 'he wanted', tahtozimma 'we wanted'. In those sub-dialects where o-stem verbs have -ę in the third person singular of the imperfect, the remaining persons are nevertheless still conjugated according to this pattern, e.g. sęisę 'he stood', but sęisozin 'I stood', sęisoziD 'you (sing.) stood'.

This same -zi- marker of the imperfect is also characteristic of the so-called contracted verbs, e.g. viskazin 'I threw' (: viskān 'I throw'), katkazin 'I gave a tug, broke off' (: katkān 'I give a tug, break off'), talлaziD 'you (sing.) trod, trampled' (: talлāD 'you tread, trample'), tęukkazimma 'we pushed' (: tęukkāmma 'we push'), vassazitta 'you (pl.) answered' (: vassātta 'you answer'), suvazi~suvaZ 'he loved' (: suvāB 'he loves'). In the third person singular, these last word types can also have the forms viskę 'he threw', talлę 'he trampled, trod', tęukkę 'he pushed'.

Concerning the passive voice of the imperfect, see § 91.

§ 82. The present perfect is formed with the aid of the present tense of the auxiliary verb ęлла 'to be' and the past participle of the pertinent verb, e.g. ęлęn, ęлęD, on antannu 'I have, you (sing.) have, he has given', ęлęmma, ęлętta, omaD antannūD 'we, you (pl.), they have given'. Concerning the various dialect forms of the participle, see § 99.

§ 83. The past perfect is formed with the aid of the imperfect tense of the auxiliary verb ęлла 'to be' and the past participle of the pertinent verb, e.g. ęlin, ęliD, ęli antannu 'I, you (sing.), he had given', ęlimma, ęlitta, ęlivaD antannūD 'we, you (pl.), they had given'.

§ 84. In Votic, as in the other Balto-Finnic languages, the present can function as the future, e.g. linad‿leživäd‿mālla, nävad‿lēväd‿valmīD, pehmiäD, sis‿pāmma rīgāsę̄, tapamma 'the flax is lying on the ground, it is getting ready, soft, then we will put (it) into the threshing-barn, we will thresh', nätilpān tulęmma teilē 'Sunday we will come to your place', kui tämä tulęp‿kotōsę̄, eittāp‿kęhallā makāmāsę̄ 'when he comes home, he will go to sleep right away'. Only the auxiliary verb liďďā has a specific future meaning (see § 79), e.g. tšülä lēb‿litši i leipā lēB 'the village will be near and there will be bread', i sill lēväd‿lahzęD 'even you (sing.) will have children', lēnen lidnaza alkoi kantajanna 'I will be a wood carrier in the city', Maťo ku kazvaB, lēB‿mokoma niku emä 'Matjo,

when she grows up, will be like her mother'. If the future tense of a verb is to be definitely emphasized, the auxiliary verb liďďä can be used, e.g. sinū tavākā liep‿taugeta 'if one has your (sing.) kind of habits, one must die', lieb‿mennä mettsā obahkā 'it will be necessary to go to the forest to gather mushrooms' (Lempola).

Other auxiliary verbs may also be used to express the future. One such auxiliary verb is the rather wide-spread neisa 'to rise, start', e.g. neizen~nēn, neizeD~nēD, neizeB~nēB, neizemma~nēmma, neizetta~nētta, neiseva D~nēvaD tetšemā 'I will start, you (sing.) will start, etc. to make', miä nēn patoi tetšemā 'I will start to make clay pots', kui mēt‿kotōsē, sinua isä tuntemā eb neizeg 'when you go home, (your) father will not recognize you', tämäš lēneb‿üvä poika, kumpa pahāta eb‿neizeg tātämā 'he will become a good son who will know nothing bad', vednа eb‿nē kazvamā 'the lamb will not begin to grow, will not grow up'.

Also the verb vettā 'to take' can be used as an auxiliary verb for expressing the future, e.g. miä ävitin sermuhsē; tšen vetab‿leütā? 'I lost the ring; who will find (it)?'.

The future can also be expressed syntactically, e.g. лeikkān sigā 'I will kill the pig', and лeikkān sikā 'I am killing the pig', tšünnättä peллō 'you (pl.) will plow the field' and tšünnättä peлtua 'you (pl.) are plowing the field', esamma opezē 'we will buy a horse' and esamma ovessa 'we are buying a horse'. In such cases the future is expressed by the total object.

§ 85. In Votic the future perfect tense also occurs. This is formed by means of the auxiliary verb liďďä and the past participle, e.g. kui miä lēn tšüsünnü, sis siä anna 'when I will have asked, then you (sing.) give'. The future perfect even occurs in the passive voice, e.g. siллē keik lēp‿prostittu 'everything will have been forgiven you (sing.)', leivät‿lēvät‿senelē лavvaлē pantu 'the breads will have been put on this/that table'.

Since in Votic both the future and future perfect are merely parallel forms alongside of the present tense functioning as the future, they will be omitted from the verbal paradigms to be given below.

Moods

§ 86. The Votic language has four moods, namely, the indicative, conditional, imperative, and the potential. The indicative has no special marker. In both the present and the imperfect tense of this mood the personal endings are simply added to the present or imperfect stem.

§ 87. The representation of the conditional is quite varied in the Votic sub-dialects. The existing markers for the conditional

are as follows. In the majority of sub-dialects the conditional marker is -isi- : -izi in accordance with the rules of gradation, e.g. jät-täizin 'I would leave behind', eлeiziD 'you (sing.) would be', menei-zimmä 'we would go', eлeizi 'he would be', tuлeizivaD 'they would come'. In some sub-dialects (Lempola) the relation is such that an open syllable has -issi- and a closed syllable has -izi-, e.g. eлeizin 'I would be', but eлeissi~eлeiš 'he would be', ehtizin 'I would be able, would manage', but ehtissi 'he would be able, would manage', pitäizin 'I would have to', but pitäiš 'he would have to'. Dialectally the conditional marker is -issi- : -isi-, e.g. antaisimma 'we would give', antaissi 'he would give'. The last possibility is, by the way, characteristic of Eastern Votic. Some of the sub-dialects have -isi- in the third person singular, e.g. antaisi.

Monosyllabic verbs that end in a vowel usually have a double marker for the conditional, e.g. saiseizin 'I would get', jeiseziD 'you (sing.) would drink', leiseizimmä 'we would hit', jäiseizittä 'you (pl.) would stay, remain'. The conditional mood with a double marker can also occur in other instances, such as etti лepettaisi-zivat‿se‿ā 'that they would end the war' (Lempola).

§ 88. In Votic the imperatives of the verbs eллa 'to be', jättā 'to leave behind', and tširjottā 'to write' are as follows:

		Singular	
1. person	лa eлen	лa jätän	лa tširjotan
2. person	eлe~eлeG	jätä~jätäG	tširjota~ tširjetaG
3. person	eлkō~ лa on	jättägō~ лa jätäB	tširjottagō~ лatširjotaB
		Plural	
1. person	eлemma~ eлemmaG	jätämmä~ jätämmäG	tširjotamma~ tširjetammaG
2. person	eлkā	jättägā	tširjottagā
3. person	eлkō~ eлkōD~ лa omaD	jättägō~ jättägōD~ лa jättäväD	tširjottagō~ tširjottegōD~ лa tširjottavaD

Forms ending with the stop -G are characteristic of Eastern Votic.

If the syllable bearing main stress is immediately followed by the imperative marker, the latter is always in the strong grade,

i.e. -kā, -kō. Farther on in the word the imperative marker is in the weak grade, (i.e. -gā, -gō), if it is added to a vowel stem, and in the strong grade if added to a consonant stem, e.g. tšüzütelkā 'question! quiz! (pl.)', tšüzütelkō 'let him question, let him quiz'.

The third person plural marker -kōD~-gōD appears in the Jõgõperä sub-dialect.

The markers for the imperative mood are back-vocalic even in front-vowel words.

The first person plural of the imperative has no special marker. The first person plural of the present indicative can also serve as the first person plural of the imperative, e.g. nęmma mäntšimā! 'let's start to play!', lähemmä tālt tšīrēp vällā! 'let's get going away from here faster!'.

The forms sōkō and лa sōB, 'let him eat', antagō and лa antavaD 'let them give' occur alternatively. However, the analytical form using the auxiliary verb, which has been taken from the Russian, is more common in present usage. The first person singular has only the analytical imperative.

§ 89. The potential mood is not an infrequent mood in Ahlqvist's grammar, e.g. wõttanen 'I probably take', wajeltanen 'I probably change', tulenen~tulnen~tullen 'I probably come', sõnenen 'I probably eat', jõnenen 'I probably drink'. The potential marker is -ne- which can be added to both the vowel and consonant stems. It is probable that the potential mood offered by Ahlqvist was popularly used. This fact, by the way, is indicated by potential forms having double markers, which are found in Votic folksongs even today. This author must, nevertheless, state that in present day Votic the potential mood occurs very seldom. Perhaps this mood has only survived in folksongs.

Passive (or impersonal) voice

§ 90. In Votic there is no special marker for the active voice. The passive voice, however, does have special markers, the representation of which is very varied in the different dialects. The present tense of the passive has the following markers:

pesässē 'it is (being) washed', pannassę 'it is (being) put', лaskęassę 'it is (being) permitted', sęvęttässę 'it is (being) dressed' (Pontizõõküla);

kuttsuasę 'one calls, invites', лauлāsę 'it is (being) sung, one sings', rikkoasę 'it is (being) damaged', tšüntāsē 'it is (being) plowed' (Eastern Votic);

süvvässä 'it is (being) eaten', ripussässa 'it is (being) hung', repiässä 'it is (being) torn', ahtässa 'grain is (being) put to dry in a threshing barn'. Alongside the passive marker an apocopated form can occur in sandhi, e.g. meil jo lämmittäs ahjua 'our stove is already being heated' a siäl kęikkęa tšüsüäs 'but there everything is asked', лauлās vanoi virsi 'old alliterative verses were sung' (Kattila and vicinity);

jūvvaZ 'it is (being) drunk', sūvväZ 'it is (being) eaten', лauлāZ 'it is (being) sung', itkęaZ 'one cries', vęttāZ 'it is (being) taken'. In the same region a passive marker ending in a vowel occurs parallel to the marker just given, e.g. pannazę 'it is (being) put', lūvväze 'it is (being) hit' (Mati and vicinity).

Thus, one marker for the present passive (or impersonal) is -ssē/-ssę, -sē/-sę, -ssa/-ssä~s̄; -Z~-ze/-zę. These variants of one and the same marker are added to the first infinitive of the verb.

The Jõgõperä sub-dialect has a different type of marker for the present tense of the passive, e.g. sūvvā 'it is (being) eaten', tuллā 'one comes (lit. it is come)', ęmmęллā 'it is (being) sewn', лauлotā 'it is (being) sung', tšüzütā 'it is (being) asked', kutsutā 'it is (being) called, invited', idgętā 'one cries (lit. it is [being] cried)'. In Jõgõperä, the present tense of the passive, like the present passive of Ingrian and Finnish, is formed, first of all, by the marker -ta/-tä, which is added to the vowel stem. Before this marker, the stem vowel -a becomes -ę and -ä becomes -e. The stem itself is in the weak grade. Secondly, the lengthened final vowel of the first infinitive of the verb under consideration can serve as the present passive marker, e.g. tuллa 'to come' : tuллā 'one comes (lit. it is come)'.

§ 91. The general Votic marker for the past tense of the passive is -tī or -ttī, e.g. tuлtī 'one had come, it was come', pantī 'it was put', sötī 'it was eaten', ngistī 'one rose, one began (lit. it was risen, it was begun)', viliseltī 'it was whistled', tehtī 'it was done, made', vęitī 'one was able (lit. one had been able)', annęttī 'it was given', kęrjauttī 'one hid (intr.) (lit. one had hidden himself)', nesęttī 'it was lifted', tširjotęttī 'it was written', vętętti 'it was taken', püvvetti 'it was caught', piettī 'it was held'. The past passive marker -tī occurs after a long vowel or diphthong carrying main stress, and after any consonant, irrespective of its position. Otherwise -ttī occurs. -a/-ä usually changes to -ę/-e before the past passive marker.

§ 92. The marker for the conditional mood of the passive is -taissi/-täissi~-ttaissi/-ttäissi or -taisi/-täisi~-ttaisi/-ttäisi, according to the sub-dialects, e.g. vętęttaissi 'if it would be taken', pantaissi 'if it would be put', levvettäissi 'if it would be found', jutęлtaissi 'if it would be said', annęttaisi 'if it

would be given', vętętaisi 'if it would be taken', ihottaisi 'if it would be sharpened'. In sandhi the final vowel is rather generally omitted, e.g. vętęttaiš~vętętais.

§ 93. The marker for the imperative mood of the passive is -tagō/-tägō~-ttagō/-ttägō, e.g. vętęttagō 'let it be taken', levvetägō 'let it be found', jutęлtagō~juęлtagō 'let it be said'. It should be noted that here also, the stem vowel -a/-ä becomes -ę/-e in front of the passive imperative marker.

§ 94. Ahlqvist's grammar recognizes the passive potential mood as a living element of the language, e.g. kōrittanes 'perhaps it would be peeled', ihottanes 'perhaps it would be sharpened', ujuttanes 'perhaps one would swim (lit. perhaps it would be swum)'. The author has heard this potential mood only in folk songs.

§ 95. It was mentioned above (§ 78) that the passive may occur instead of the third person plural, e.g. kęik kęm rōtia eлtī sęaza 'all three companies were in the war', linnud ◡ viliseltī puiza 'the birds whistled in the tree tops', nävädˇ лauлāZ 'they are singing' (Mati), nämä vętętaiš 'they would take'. The younger the speaker of Votic, the more common is the occurrence of the passive in his speech.

In addition to the already mentioned possibility of attaching the passive marker to the verb stem, the passive voice in Votic can also be expressed syntactically, e.g. kuhę tätä huллиa vēD? 'where is that fool to be taken?', täl on vasara, ešto paikaлt ed◡ līkuta 'he has a hammer so heavy that it cannot be moved from its place', et◡tā mitäiD, kui vęib eлlia 'don't know anything about how it could be'. Thus, the second person singular can have a passive function also.

Infinitives

§ 96. Votic has two infinitives, the first and the second. In Western Votic the marker of the first infinitive is -a/-ä, -ā/-ā and -ta/-tä, e.g. süvvä 'to eat', juvva 'to drink', jutęлla 'to say', kōлla 'to die', panna 'to put', mennä 'to go', ujua 'to swim', tšüsüä 'to ask', repiä 'to tear', suvata 'to love', upota 'to drown', üpätä 'to jump', vęttā 'to take'.

In Eastern Votic the stop -G is added to the infinitive, e.g. sōäG 'to eat', tōaG 'to bring', pannaG 'to put', sitoaG 'to tie', väittāG 'to drag, pull', avataG 'to open'.

The occurrence of the first infinitive generally agrees with Estonian usage. Nevertheless, there are some instances where Votic has the first infinitive but Estonian uses the second, e.g. aлkę tšüsüä 'he began to ask', piäp◡tehä 'he has to do, make', väsü mäntšiä 'he got tired of playing'.

The first infinitive can be declined. The occurrence of this infinitive in the inessive is quite general, e.g. elāzä 'while living', vetāzä 'while dragging, pulling', pitāzä 'while keeping', лauлāza 'while singing', nagrāza 'while laughing', tširjottāza 'while writing', repīzä 'while tearing', tšiskōza 'while tearing, plucking', tšüsūzä 'while asking', puhūza 'while blowing'. Before the inessive marker the stem vowel of one-stem verbs is lengthened. In two-stem verbs -a/-ä changes to -ę-/-e- before the inessive marker, e.g. jutęлlęza 'while saying', panneza 'while putting', mennezä 'while going', suvatęza 'while loving', üpätezä 'while jumping'.

First infinitive inessives such as eläizä 'while living', pitäizä 'while keeping', лauлaiza 'while singing' occur sub-dialectally.

In folksongs possessive suffixes can be added to the first infinitive, e.g. süvvezäzi 'in your eating (i.e. while you are eating)', antāzani 'in my giving (i.e. while I am giving)'. The author has not heard such forms used in everyday speech.

The first infinitive indicates simultaneous action as well as the manner in which the action occurs, e.g. elāzä en eлę nähnü nī üvā lehmā 'while I have been living (i.e. as long as I have been living) I have not seen such a good cow', лauлāza mentī kotōsę '(while) singing, they went home', tōtä tehezä eлęn ain elännü 'I have only lived working'.

In folksongs the translative of the first infinitive occurs together with the possessive suffixes, e.g. anna tupa tuллasseni, rihi sōja eллasseni, лautad◡lahti tšävvässeni 'give a room, so I would come, a room warm, so I would stay, barn open, so I would walk (in)'. This type of translative occurs as a usual form even with Ahlqvist. However, it is hardly probable that during his time this form could have been a general feature of the everyday living language.

§ 97. The marker for the second infinitive is -mā(sę)/-mā(sē) which is also added to the vowel stem of the verb, e.g. vāttamā 'to look', jōnitteлęmā 'to run', tęmpāmā 'to pull', tšüsümā 'to ask', sōmā 'to eat'. Characteristically the second infinitive is actually the illative case, e.g. meni kaлā pūtämā 'he went to catch fish', johsęvad◡vāttamā 'they run to look', issūmma ōkauttamā jaлkoi 'we sit down to let (our) feet rest', nęistī tšüsümā 'they (impersonal) began to ask (lit. it was begun to ask)'.

The second infinitive is also used with cases other than the illative, namely with the inessive, elative, and abessive, e.g. inessive: isä on sōmäzä 'father is eating', ęlimma spektaklia vāttamaza 'we were watching a play', eлtī tšäümäzä 'they (impersonal) went to make a formal proposal (of marriage) (lit. it was gone to make a formal proposal)'; elative: unohtīn tšüsümässä 'I

forgot to ask (lit. I forgot from asking)', tulin tšüntämässä 'I came from plowing'; abessive: open on sõmättä 'the horse is without eating', pęлto jäi tšüntämättä 'the field remained unplowed (lit. without plowing)', vęrkko on paratamattaG 'the net is not repaired (lit. without repairing)' (Eastern Votic).

In addition, the second infinitive occurs in such constructions as eb näü tšävelemā 'it doesn't appear as if (he) were walking', jueлti tuлęmā tuhkapān 'it was said (he) would come on Monday', näin tätä eлęmā 'I saw him being (at a place)'. The use of this type of partitivus cum infinitivo is similar to Estonian dialectal usage (nägin tulema). See also § 98.

Participles

§ 98. There are two participles in the Votic language, the present and the past, both of which have an active as well as a passive voice. The marker for the present participle is -va/-vä in the active voice and -tava/-tävä, -ttava/-ttävä in the passive, e.g. kūлtāva 'dutiful, submissive', tšihuva 'boiling', peлęva 'burning', sāva 'becoming', sõtävä 'eatable', mūtävä 'sellable', suvattava 'lovable, loved one', pantava on pajatęttava i naitęttava on nagrętava 'the one to be married off (i.e. speaking about a girl) is to be talked about and the one who is to take a wife is to be laughed at' (proverb).

The present participle is actually an adjectival nominal and is declined according to Declension VIII. This participle is not especially common in the active voice, its use being limited to a more or less definite group of verbs. In a rather general way this participle has the function of indicating the doer of an action (see § 102). In the passive this participle occurs more generally.

One usual possibility for the occurrence of the present participle is the partitivus cum participio, e.g. en tā (tätä) eлęvā 'I don't know his being', näin mēssä tuлęvā tētä mõ 'I saw a man coming along the street'. See also § 97.

§ 99. The past active participle is -nnu/-nnü in Western Votic and -nnuG/-nnüG in Eastern Votic. In monosyllabic stems ending in a consonant, the consonant of the participle marker may be assimilated to the stem consonant, e.g. sõnnü 'eaten', arvannu 'guessed, surmised', jättännü 'left (trans.)', лaskęnnu 'let', pagęnnu 'escaped', väsünnü 'tired', juoллu 'said', pässü~päznü 'escaped, managed to get away', ęmmęллu 'sewed'; Eastern Votic sānnuG 'gotten, obtained', peittännüG 'hidden', vasannuG 'answered'.

This participle is declined according to Declension XV. In the Jõgõperä sub-dialect, alongside the paradigm kõллu : kõллū : kõллūлę 'dead (nom.) : dead (gen.) : dead (all.)', the paradigm kõллu~kõллę~kõллēлē can also occur with individual speakers. This latter instance shows the influence of the Ingrian dialects.

§ 100. The past passive participle has the marker -tu/-tü, -ttu-/-ttü in Western Votic and -tuG/-tüG, -ttuG/-ttüG in Eastern Votic, e.g. sātu '(been) gotten, obtained', sõtü '(been) eaten', tuлtu '(lit.) (been) come', pantu '(been) put', tehtü '(been) made, done', vętęttu '(been) taken', esęttu '(been) bought', tširjotęttu '(been) written', tšēlettü '(been) forbidden'; Eastern Votic sātuG '(been) gotten', tehtüG '(been) done, made', vēttuG '(been) taken', tukattuG '(been) stuffed, buried', tapęttuG '(been) killed'.

The past passive participle is declined according to Declension II.

Action noun

§ 101. The action noun marker is -min~-mine~-minę and -mīn~-mīne~-mīnę. In some sub-dialects short -i- occurs in unstressed syllables, and long -ī- occurs in syllables with secondary stress, e.g. sõmin 'eating', but лukęmīn 'reading', antamīn 'giving'. In other sub-dialects -i- is always short, e.g. terppimine 'suffering', tetšemiš 'doing (part.)', empęлęmin 'sewing'. In a third group of sub-dialects -ī- is always long, e.g. jõmīn 'drinking', makāmīzęллa 'sleeping (adess.)', empęлęmīn 'sewing'.

The action noun, in reality a deverbal noun, is declined according to Declension XII.

Special attention should be given to the adessive plus possessive suffix of the action noun, e.g. sõmizellā 'just eating', tuлęmīzęллā 'just coming', antamīzęллā 'just giving', ęlin tuлęmīzęллā teilē vēraz̄i, kui poika tuli läsivässi 'I was just coming to visit you when my son became sick', staruxa on kõлęmīzeллā 'the old woman is dying'.

The agent

§ 102. The marker of the agent is -ja/-jä. In sandhi the Jõgõperä sub-dialect also has -ję/-je. The marker is added to the vowel stem of the verb, e.g. лauлaja 'singer', vęittaja 'winner', tšüsüjä 'asker', nätšijä-mēZ 'witness'; in Jõgõperä лauлoję 'singer', sāję 'receiver', tšüsüje 'asker'.

In all Votic sub-dialects, and especially in Jõgõperä, the agent also occurs attributively in place of the present participle, e.g. лauлoję poikę 'singing boy', autoję kana 'a hatching hen', kaлlā pūtäjä starikka 'a fishing old man'.

Negation

§ 103. Except in the imperative, the Votic verb stem does not take any personal endings in negation. In Western Votic the verb stem as such is the negative marker; in Eastern Votic, however, the negative marker -G is attached to the stem. In Votic the negation itself is conjugated, e.g. en, eD, eB, emmä~emmäG, että~ettäG, eväD 'I don't, you (sing.) don't, he doesn't', etc. In the singular the negation verb also has a longer emphatic form eni, edi, ebi. As examples for the negative mood, the auxiliary verbs ɐллa 'to be' and liddä~lēäG 'to be in the future' for both Eastern and Western Votic will be offered here.

Active voice

Present tense

(miä) en ɐлɐ~ɐлɐG

(siä) ed ɐлɐ~ɐлɐG

(tämä) eb ɐлɐ~ɐлɐG~bɐлɐ~bɐ̄

(mō̄~mū̄) emmä ɐлɐ~emmag ɐлɐG

(tō̄~tū̄) että ɐлɐ~ettäg ɐлɐG

(nämä~nämäD~näväD) eväd ɐлɐ~ɐлɐG

Imperfect

en ɐллu~ɐллuG

ed ɐллu~ɐллuG

eb ɐллu~ɐллuG~bɐллu

emmä ɐллūD~emmäg ɐллūD

että ɐллūD~ettäg ɐллūD

eväd ɐллūD

Present perfect

en ɐлɐ ɐлл u~ɐлɐg ɐллuG

ed ɐлɐ ɐллu~ɐлɐg ɐллuG

eb ɐлɐ ɐллu~ɐлɐg ɐллuG

emmä ɐлɐ ɐллūD~emmäg ɐлɐg ɐллūD

että ɐлɐ ɐллūD~ettäg ɐлɐg ɐллūD

eväd ɐлɐ ɐллūD~ɐлɐg ɐллūD

Past perfect

en ɐллu ɐллu~ɐллug ɐллuG

ed ɐллu ɐллu~ɐллug ɐллuG

eb ɐллu ɐллu~ɐллug ɐллuG

emmä ɐллūd ɐллūD~emmäg ɐллūd ɐллūD

että ɐллūd ɐллūD~ettäg ɐллūd ɐллūD

eväd ɐлɯ̄d ɐллūD

Future

en lē~lēG

ed lē~lēG

eb le~lēG

emmä lē~emmäg lēG

että lē~ettäg lēG

eväd lē~lēG

Future perfect

en lē ɐллu~lēg ɐллuG

ed lē ɐллu~lēg ɐллuG

eb lē ɐллu~lēg ɐллuG

emmä lē ɐллūD~emmäg lēg ɐллūD

että lē ɐллūD~ettäg lēg ɐллūD

eväd lē ɐллūD~lēg ɐллūD

Conditional mood

en, ed, eb ɐлɐisi, ɐлɐissi, ɐлɐissiG

emmä etc., että etc., eväd ɐлɐisi~, ɐлɐissi~, ɐлɐissiG

Imperative mood

ла en ɐлɐ~лāg en ɐлɐg

elä~älä ɐлɐ~eläg ɐлɐG

elkō~älkō ɐлkō~ла eb ɐлɐ~лāG eb ɐлɐG

ла emmä ɐлɐ~лāg emmäg ɐлɐG

elkā~älkā ɐлkā

elkō~älkō ɐлkō~elkōd ɐлkōD~ла eväd ɐлɐ~лāg eväd ɐлɐG

Passive voice

Present

ep ɐлла~ɐллaG

Imperfect

eb ɐлtu~ɐлtuG

Conditional

ep ɐлtaisi~ɐлtaissi~ɐлtaissiG

Imperative

elkō~älkō ɐлtagō

Conjugations

§ 104. The Votic conjugations will be presented according to their most significant divisions. The sample words are conjugated

according to the West Votic sub-dialects. The differences found in Eastern Votic occur mainly in participles and in negation. These differences have already been considered in the respective sections above.

The first sample words are offered in all persons. Later on, only the necessary examples will be quoted. Likewise, later on, the negative mood will not be given.

One-stem verbs

§ 105. Conjugation I. Monosyllabic stems ending in either a long vowel or in a diphthong belong to this conjugation, e.g. sā-n 'I get, obtain', jō-n 'I drink', sō-n 'I eat', jā-n 'I stay, remain', vē-n 'I take, carry', lō-n 'I hit', vei-n 'I can, am able'.

Active voice

Present

Affirmative				Negative			
sān	jōn	lōn	vēn	en sā	jō	lō	vē
sāD	jōD	lōD	vēD	et ‿ sā	jō	lō	vē
sāB	jōB	lōB	vēB	ep ‿ sā	jō	lō	vē
sāmma	jōmma	lōmmä	vēmmä	emmä sā	jō	lō	vē
sātta	jōtta	lōttä	vēttä	että sā	jō	lō	vē
sāvaD	jōvaD	lōväD	vēväD	evät ‿ sā	jō	lō	vē

Imperfect

sain vein	jɐin~jein	lein	en sānnu vēnnü	jōnnu	lōnnü
saiD veiD	jɐiD	leiD	et ‿ sānnu vēnnü	jōnnu	lōnnü
sai vei	jɐi	lei	ep ‿ sānnu vēnnü	jōnnu	lōnnü
saimma veimmä	jɐimma	leimmä	emmä sānnūD vēnnūD	jōnnūD	lōnnūD
saitta veittä	jɐitta	leittä	että sānnūD vēnnūD	jōnnūD	lōnnūD
saivaD veiväD	jɐivaD	leiväD	evät ‿ sānnūD vēnnūD	jōnnūD	lōnnūD

Present perfect

ɐɹɹɐn ɐɹɹɐD on	sānnu lōnnü	jōnnu vēnnü	en eD eB	ɐɹɹɐ sānnu jōnnu lōnnü vēnnü
ɐɹɹɐmma ɐɹɹɐtta omaD	sānnūD lōnnūD	jōnnūD vēnnūD	emmä että eväD	ɐɹɹɐ sānnūD jōnnūD lōnnūD vēnnūD

Past perfect

ɐlin ɐliD ɐli	sānnu lōnnü	jōnnu vēnnü	en eD eB	ɐɹɹu sānnu jōnnu lōnnü vēnnü
ɐlimma ɐlitta ɐlivaD	sānnūD lōnnūD	jōnnūD vēnnūD	emmä että eväD	ɐɹɹūD sānnūD jōnnūD lōnnūD vēnnūD

Conditional mood

saisɐizin	jɐisɐizin	leiseizin veiseizin	en	saisɐisi~ saisɐissi
saisɐiziD	jɐisɐiziD	leiseiziD veiseiziD	eD	
saisɐissi	jɐisɐissi	leiseissi veiseizi	eB	
saisɐizimma	jɐisɐizimma	leiseizimmä veiseizimmä	emmä	
saisɐizitta	jɐisɐizitta	leiseizittä veiseizittä	että	
saisɐizivaD	jɐisɐizivaD	leiseiziväD veiseiziväD	eväD	

Imperative

ɹɹa sān	jōn	lōn	vēn	ɹɹa en	sā	jō	lō	vē

sā	jō	lō̄ vē̄	elä	sā	jō	lō̄	vē
sākō	jōkō	lō̄kō vē̄kō	elkō	sākō	jōkō	lō̄kō	vēkō
~Ja saB, etc.			~Ja ep‿sā, etc.				
(Ja) sāmma	jōmma	lō̄mmä vē̄mmä	Ja emmä	sā	jō	lō̄	vē
sākā	jōkā	lō̄kā vē̄kā	elkā	sākā	jōkā	lō̄kā	vē̄kā
sākō	jōkō	lō̄kō vē̄kō	elkō	sākō	jōkō	lō̄kō	vē̄kō
~sākōD, etc.			~elkōt‿sākōD, etc.				
~Ja sāvaD, etc.			Ja evät‿sā, etc.				

Participles

sāva	jōva	lō̄vä	vēvä
sānnu	jōnnu	lō̄nnü	vēnnü

Passive voice

Present

Affirmative			Negative			
sātassa~sāhassg̑~sāvvaZ~ sāvvā, etc.			ep‿sāta	juvva	lüvvä	viďďä
juvvassa	lüvvässä	viďďässä				

Imperfect

sātī	jōtī	lō̄tī	vētī	ep‿sātu	jōtu	lō̄tü	vētü

Conditional

sātaisi~sātaissi lō̄täisi	jōtaisi	vētäisi		ep‿sātaisi~sātaissi lō̄täisi		vētäisi	jōtaisi

Imperative

sātagō	jōtagō	lō̄tägō	vētägō	elkō vētägō	sātagō	jōtagō	lō̄tägō

Participles

sātava	jōtava	lō̄tävä	vētävä
sātu	jōtu	lō̄tü	vētü

Infinitives

sāta~sāha~sāvva~savva		juvva~jūvva vid'd'ä	lüvvä~lū̄vvä
sātg̑za	juvvg̑za	lüvvezä	viďďezä
sāmā	jōmā	lō̄mā̄	vēmā̄

Action noun

sāmin	jōmin	lō̄min	vēmin

Agent

sāja	jōja	lō̄jä	vējä

§ 106. Conjugation II. In this conjugation are those words that have -u, -ü, -i as the stem vowel, e.g. kutsu-n 'I call, invite', uju-n 'I swim', sūtu-n 'I get angry', kaugasu-n 'I am late', sünnü-n 'I am born', tšüzü-n 'I ask', säülü-n 'I am preserved, I remain', ehi-n 'I decorate, embellish', sovi-n 'I suit, fit', tg̑hi-n 'I may, am permitted'.

Active voice

Present

kutsuB	tšüzüB	tg̑hiB
kuttsuvaD	tšüsüväD	tg̑htivaD

Imperfect

kuttsu	tšüsü	tg̑hti
kuttsuzivaD	tšüsüziväD	tg̑htizivaD

Conditional

kuttsuissi	tšüsüissi	tg̑htīssi
kuttsuizivaD	tšüsüiziväD	tg̑htīzivaD

	Imperative	
kutsu	tšüzü	tẹhi
kuttsugā	tšüsügā	tẹhtigā
kuttsugō	tšüsügō	tẹhtigō
	Participles	
kuttsuva	tšüsüvä	tẹhtiva
kuttsunnu	tšüsünnü	tẹhtinnu
	Passive voice	
	Present	
kutsuassa	tšüsüässä	tẹhtiassa
	Imperfect	
kutsuttī	tšüzüttī	tẹhittī
	Imperative	
kutsuttagō	tšüzüttägō	tẹhittagō
	Participles	
kutsuttava	tšüzüttävä	tẹhittava
kutsuttu	tšüzüttü	tẹhittu
	Infinitives	
kuttsua	tšüsüä	tẹhtia
kuttsūza	tšüsūzä	tẹhtīza
kuttsumā	tšüsümā	tẹhtimā
	Action noun	
kuttsumīn	tšüsümīn	tẹhtimīn
	Agent	
kuttsuja	tšüsüjä	tẹhtija

In a few sub-dialects o-stem words also belong here, e.g. tahtozin 'I wanted', tahto 'he wanted'. However, in most sub-dialects, o-stem words are declined according to the conjugation which follows.

§ 107. Conjugation III. In this conjugation are the o-stem words and those disyllabic a-stem words that also have -a- in the first syllable, e.g. riko-n 'I damage', tago-n 'I hit, pound', tšizgo-n 'I tear, pull', taho-n 'I want', sẹizo-n 'I stand'; aja-n 'I chase, drive', kanna-n 'I carry', алga-n 'I start, begin', лаула-n 'I sing', java-n 'I grind, mill'.

Active voice	
Present	
tagoB	алgaB
takovaD	алkavaD
Imperfect	
takẹ	алkẹ
takẹvaD	алkẹvaD
Conditional	
takoissi	алkaissi
takoizivaD	алkaizivaD
Imperative	
tago	алga
takogā	алkagā
takogō	алkagō
Participles	
takova	алkava
takonnu	алkannu
Passive voice	
Present	
takuassa	алkāssa

Imperfect

tagottī	aɲgɐttī

Conditional

tagottaisi~tagottaissi	aɲgɐttaisi, etc.

Imperative

tagottagō	aɲgɐttagō

Participles

tagottava	aɲgɐttava
tagottu	aɲgɐttu

Infinitives

takua	aɲkā
takōza	aɲkāza
takomā	aɲkamā

Action noun

takomīn	aɲkamīn

Agent

takoja	aɲkaja

Sub-dialectally words of this conjugation can change like the words of Conjugation IV. Namely, the imperfect is anti 'he gave', aɲki 'he began, started'. This feature is particularly characteristic of the Jõgõperä sub-dialect.

§ 108. Conjugation IV. To this conjugation belong e-, ɐ-, and ä-stem words, as well as a-stem words that have more than two syllables and those a-stem words that have -ɐ- in the first syllable, e.g. nülle-n 'I skin, flay', idgɐ-n 'I cry', ɲugɐ-n 'I read', ɲazgɐ-n~ɲazzɐ-n 'I let', elä-n 'I live', jätä-n 'I leave behind', isuta-n 'I plant', kaitsa-n 'I protect', ɐsa-n 'I buy'.

Active voice

Present

nülleB	ɲugɐB	jätäB	ɐsaB
nültševäD	ɲukɐvaD	jättäväD	ɐssavaD

Imperfect

nültši	ɲutši	jätti	ɐssi
nültšiväD	ɲutšivaD	jättiväD	ɐssivaD

Conditional

nültšeissi	ɲukɐissi	jättäissi	ɐssaissi
nültšeiziväD	ɲukɐizivaD	jättäiziväD	ɐssaizivaD

Imperative

nülle	ɲugɐ	jätä	ɐsa
nültšegā	ɲukɐgā	jättägā	ɐssagā
nültšegō	ɲukɐgō	jättägō	ɐssagō

Participles

nültševä	ɲukɐva	jättävä	ɐssava
nültšennü	ɲukɐnnu	jättännü	ɐssannu

Passive voice

Present

nültšiässä	ɲukɐassa	jättāssä	ɐssāssa

Imperfect

nüllettī	ɲugɐttī	jätettī	ɐsɐttī

Conditional

nüllettäisi	ɲugɐttaisi	jätettäisi	ɐsɐttaisi~nülletäissi, etc.

Imperative

nüllettägō	ɲugɐttagō	jätettägō	ɐsɐttagō

Participles

nüllettävä	ɲugɐttava	jätettävä	ɐsɐttava

nüllettü	ɲugettu	jätettü	ęsęttu

Infinitives

nültšiä	ɲukęa	jättā	ęssā
nültšēzä	ɲukēza	jättāzä	ęssāza
nültšemā	ɲukęmā	jättämā	ęssamā

Action noun

nültšemīn	ɲukęmīn	jättämīn	ęssamīn

Agent

nültšejä	ɲukęja	jättäjä	ęssaja

§ 109. Conjugation V. In this conjugation there is a group of u- and ü-stem words that have a long vowel in the present tense of the active voice. The majority of such words are conjugated according to Conjugation V throughout the Votic language. However, dialectally a part of them can also belong to Conjugation II (sūttua 'to get angry', tękkua 'to fall'), e.g. murtū-n 'I break (intr.)', tarttū-n 'I stay, I grab hold of', umaɲtū-n 'I get drunk', ęmęhtū-n 'I grow moldy', kukęrtū-n 'I fall over', vīpū-n 'I stay, linger', vāntū-n 'I twist, am twisted', eittū-n 'I am startled'.

Active voice

Present

murtūB	vāntūB
murtūvaD	vāntūväD

Imperfect

murtu	vāntü
murtuzivaD	vāntüziväD

Conditional

murtuissi	vāntüissi
murtuizivaD	vāntüiziväD

Imperative

murtū	vāntū

murtūgā	vāntūgā
murtūgō	vāntūgō

Participles

murtūva	vāntūvä
murtunnu	vāntünnü

Passive voice

Present

murtuassa	vāntüässä

Imperfect

murtūttī	vāntūttī

Conditional

murtūttaissi, etc.	vāntūttäissi

Imperative

murtūttagō	vāntūttägō, etc.

Infinitives

murtua	vāntüä
murtūza	vāntūzä
murtūmā	vāntūmā, etc.

In this conjugation the Eastern Votic forms are so different that the divergences have to be given separately.

Active voice

Imperfect

murtujē	vāntüjē
murtujēvaD	vāntüjēväD

Imperative

murtūG	vāntūG

murtūskā	vǟntū̄skā
murtūskō	vǟntū̄skō

Passive voice

Present

murtūssa	vǟntū̄ssä

Imperfect

murtūsti	vǟntū̄stī

First infinitive

murtūssaG	vǟntū̄ssäG

The Jõgõperä sub-dialect also has the infinitive murtùssa, the imperative murtùskà, and the passive voice murtùssà, murtùstì.

§ 110. Conjugation VI. In addition to the words belonging to Conjugation IV, the Votic language has many a- and ä-stem words which in some forms contain a long vowel. These are mainly words with reflexive and momentaneous overtones, such as kummartā-n 'I bow', ehtagoittā-n 'I eat supper', lentā̄-n 'I fly', vātahtā-n~vātastā-n 'I look once', лauлahtā-n~лauлastā-n 'I sing once, start to sing'. Such words are conjugated in the following manner:

Active voice

Present

лauлahtāB	лauлahtāvaD

Imperfect

лauлahtī̄	лauлahtī̄vaD

Conditional

лauлahtaissi	лauлahtaizivaD

Imperative

лauлahtā

лauлahtāgā

лauлahtāgō

Participles

лauлahtāva

лauлahtannu

Passive voice

Present	Imperfect
лauлahtāssa	лauлahtāttī, etc.

Infinitives

лauлahtā

лauлahtāza

лauлahtāmā

Action noun

лauлahtāmī̄n, etc.

Dialectally Votic can have a long-vowel imperfect in several other instances which do not fit into the conjugation being considered, such as kazvī̄ 'he grew', kōlī̄ 'he died', mätänī̄ 'it rotted', värizī̄ 'it shook, trembled'. Concerning other conjugations, however, such words are conjugated according to the sample words in question.

§ 111. Conjugation VII. In this conjugation are reflexive verbs, such as лaskęu-n 'I descend, come down', kōriu-B 'it casts off the shell', kasiu-n 'I tidy myself up', eittäü-n 'I get frightened', sępęu-n 'I get dressed', avęu-B 'it opens (intr.)', naisiu-n 'I get married, take a wife'.

Active voice

Present

лaskęuB	eittäüB
лaskęuvaD	eittäüväD

Imperfect

лaskɐuzi	eittäüzi
лaskɐuzivaD	eittäüziväD

Conditional

лaskɐuissi	eittäüissi
лaskɐuizivaD	eittäüiziväD

Imperative

лaskɐu	eittäü
лaskɐugā	eittäügā
лaskɐugō	eittäügō

Participles

лaskɐuva	eittäüvä
лaskɐunnu	eittäünnü

Passive voice

Present

лaskɐutassa	eittäütässä

Imperfect

лaskɐuttī	eittäüttī

Conditional

лaskɐuttaissi	eittäüttäissi

Imperative

лaskɐuttagō	eittäüttägō

Participles

лaskɐuttava	eittäüttävä
лaskɐuttu	eittäüttü

Infinitives

лaskɐuta	eittäütä
лaskɐutɐza	eittäütezä
лaskɐumā	eittäümā

Action noun

лaskɐumīn	eittäümīn

Agent

лaskɐuja	eittäüjä

In Eastern Votic the corresponding words are conjugated like the sample words murtuaG and vāntüäG in the preceding conjugation, i. e. imperfect лaskɐujɐ̄ 'he descended, came down'; imperative лaskɐuG 'descend! (sing.)', лaskɐuskā 'descend! (pl.) ', лaskɐuskō 'let him/them descend'; passive voice present лaskɐussā 'it is descended, made to come down', imperfect лaskɐustī 'it was descended, made to come down', first infinitive лaskɐussaG 'to descend, come down', etc. Also in the Jõgõperä sub-dialect this type of paradigm can be found with reflexive verbs.

Two-stem verbs

§ 112. Conjugation VIII. Verbs whose vowel stem ends in -e or -ɐ belong here, e. g. peze-n 'I wash', tē-n 'I do, make', panɐ-n 'I put', neizɐ-n 'I start, rise', juttɐлɐ-n 'I say', tuлɐ-n 'I come', berizɐ-B 'it rattles, buzzes', värize-n 'I shake, tremble'.

Active voice

Present

pezeB	tēB	juttɐлɐB~juttɐ̄B	värizeB
peseväD	tetševäD	juttɐлɐvaD~ juttɐ̄vaD	värizeväD

Imperfect

pesi	tetši	juttɐli	värizi
pesiväD	tetšiväD	juttɐlivaD	väriziväD

Conditional

peseissi	tetšeissi	juttɐлɐissi	värizeissi
peseiziväD	tetšeiziväD	juttɐлɐizivaD	värizeiziväD

Imperative

peze	tē	juttɐлɐ	värize
peskā	tehkā	jutɐлkā	väriskā
peskō	tehkō	jutɐлkō	väriskō

Participles

pesevä	tetševä	juttɐлɐva	värizevä
peznü	tehnü	jutɐллu	väriznü

Passive voice

Present

pesässä	tehässä	jutɐллassa	värisässä

Imperfect

pestī	tehtī	jutɐлtī	väristī

Conditional

pestäissi	tehtäissi	jutɐлtaissi	väristäissi

Imperative

pestägō	tehtägō	jutɐлtagō	väristägō

Participles

pestävä	tehtävä	jutɐлtava	väristävä
pestü	tehtü	jutɐлtu	väristü

Infinitives

pesä	tehä	jutɐллa	värisä
pesezä	tehezä	jutɐллɐza	värisezä
pesemā	tetšemā	juttɐлɐmā	värizemā

Action noun

pesemīn	tetšemīn	juttɐлɐmīn	värizemīn

Agent

pesijä	tetšijä	juttɐlija	värizijä

In Eastern Votic the past active participle of words whose consonant stem ends in -s is the following: pessüG 'washed', nɐissuG 'risen, started', värissüG 'shook, trembled'; likewise the first infinitive is pessäG 'to wash', nɐissaG 'to rise, start', värissäG 'to shake, tremble'. Throughout the Votic language assimilation has occurred in words whose consonant stem ends in -l, -л, -n, e.g. tuллu 'came', ɐmmɐллu 'sewn', pannu 'put'.

Subdialectally words of this conjugation can have a long stem vowel, e.g. värizēB 'it shakes, trembles', värizī 'it shook, trembled'.

§ 113. Conjugation IX. In this conjugation are the so-called contracted verbs, e.g. lepā-n 'I lie, rest', vassā-n 'I answer', tšiusā-n 'I tempt, vex', pɐtkā-n 'I kick', лɐskā-B 'it is aflame, blazes'; лahkua-n 'I depart', irmua-n 'I fear, am afraid', pöllüä-B 'it is dusty, gives off dust'.

Active voice

Present

tšiusāB	irmuaB
tšiusāvaD	irmuavaD

Imperfect

tšiusazi	irmuzi
tšiusazivaD	irmuzivaD

Conditional

tšiusaissi	irmuissi
tšiusaiziva D	irmuiziva D

Imperative

tšiusā	irmua
tšiuzatkā~tšiusāgā	irmutkā~irmuagā

tšiuzatkō~tšiusāgō	irmutkō~irmuagō

Participles

tšiusāva	irmuava
tšiuzannu	irmunnu

Passive voice

Present

tšiuzatassa	irmutassa

Imperfect

tšiuzattī	irmuttī

Conditional

tšiuzattaissi	irmuttaissi

Imperative

tšiuzattagō	irmuttagō

Participles

tšiuzattava	irmuttava
tšiuzattu	irmuttu

Infinitives

tšiuzata	irmuta
tšiuzatęza	irmutęza
tšiusāmā	irmuamā

Action noun

tšiusāmīn	irmuamīn

Agent

tšiusāja	irmuaja

In those sub-dialects where gemination occurs before a long vowel, gemination also occurs in contracted verbs, e.g. leppā (Jõgõperä), leppāG (Eastern Votic) leppā (Mati) 'lie!, rest! (sing.)'.

§ 114. Conjugation X. Two-stem -ne/-nę derivations belong to this conjugation, e.g. appa-nę-B 'it is becoming sour', pime-ne-B 'it is getting dark', ęhsę-nę-B 'he is vomiting', pakę-nę-B 'he is fleeing'.

Active voice

Present

appanęB	appanęvaD

Imperfect

appanī	appanīvaD

Conditional

appanęissi	appanęizivaD

Imperative

appanę

apatkā~appanęgā

apatkō~appanęgō

Participles

appanęva	apannu

Passive voice

Present	Imperfect
apatassa	apattī
Conditional	**Imperative**
apattaissi	apattagō

Participles

apattava	apattu

Infinitives

apata apatęza appanęmā

Action noun	Agent
appanęmīn	appanęja

In addition to the imperfect appanī, pakęnī, pimenī, the forms appani, pakęni, pimeni also occur in other sub-dialects. Even in this conjugation, Eastern Votic has -jē/-ję̄ as the marker for the imperfect, e.g. appaję̄ 'it became sour', pakęję̄vaD 'they fled', ęhsęję̄ttaG 'you (pl.) vomited'.

Adverbs

§ 115. The following are some of the most usual adverbs of place in Votic:

akkunaлā '(to) outside' — лahzęd‿johsivad‿akkunaлā 'the children ran outside', meīl on akkunaлла vanat‿kazgęD 'we have old birch trees outside', akkunaлta tultī jo rihēsē 'they (impersonal) have already come into the room from outside (lit. from outside it was already come into the room)';

aлaZ '(to) down' — tämä tuli ähüpā̄lt aлaZ 'he came down from the top of the stove';

aлā '(to) down, under', — koira on лavvā naлла, meni aлā 'the dog is under the table, it went down', aлл‿on nītuD, pā̄ll‿on pęллoD, tšehsinā̄ tšülä üvä 'below are meadows, on the top are fields, in the middle a good village' (from a folksong), vęta linad‿aлta vällā̄ 'take (sing.) the flax out from below';

aлętsę̄~aлęttsę~aлattsę̄ 'from below, by means of below' — menemmä aлętsę̄ 'we are going from/by way of below';

etezī~etēZ 'forward, onward' — ain ovęs̄ etezī aję 'he just kept driving the horse ahead' (Lempola), tšäütteleb‿etēZ‿tagāZ 'he is walking back and forth';

etē (~ettē~ettē) '(to) in front' — tetši rissiä etē 'he made the sign of the cross in front (of himself)', ēzä einēllē menijä, perällä pęллoлę̄ jā̄jä 'in front the one who goes to eat, in back the one who stays in the field' (proverb), nęiskā ēssä! 'get (pl.) out of the way! (lit. get away from in front!);

jūrę̄ 'to, along' (Jõgõperä) — tšet‿tuлtī jūrę̄? 'who came along, joined?', jūręzę 'at, by' jūręssę '(from) at, by';

kassenna 'here' — kassenna on ęллu tšivi-ręukko 'a pile of stones has been here';

kaugaZ '(to) far' — ku sęta meilt jo kaugaz‿meni 'when the war went far away from us', täti eläp‿kaukanna 'the aunt lives far away', kaukā lidnassa 'far from the city';

kaukāлę̄ '(to) far', kaukāлла 'far', kaukāлta '(from) far;

kāsa 'along, with' — i täm kāsa kantę trubā 'and he carried his horn along with him', antę kāsa kīzā 'he gave a bag (to take) along';

kęrkęaллę '(to) high', kę̆rkęaлла 'high', kerkęaлta '(from) high';

kokō~koǩkō~kokkō 'together' — ajan lehmät‿kokō 'I will drive the cows together';

kotō~kotōsę̄~koǩtō~kottō '(to) home' — menevät‿kotō 'they are going home', jäi kotōsę̄ 'he stayed at home', isä on kotonna 'father is at home', tuli kotua 'he came from home', kotontę '(from) home' (Jõgõperä);

kōza 'together, jointly' — siällä kahs perettä elävät‿kōza 'two families live there together';

kujaлę̄ '(to) outside, onto the street' — mene kujaлę̄ jōnittęлęmā 'go (sing.) out to run', kujaлла 'outside', kujaлta '(from) outside';

litši 'near, close by' — tšülä lēb‿litši 'the village is near';

mahā 'onto the ground', māza 'on the ground', māssa 'from the ground';

maitsę̄~maittsę 'along the land, on land' — aję maittsę ja merittse 'he rode on land and on sea' (Jõgõperä);

māлē 'down, onto the ground' — mettsä pani māлe 'the forest fell down', tahtę лaŋgęta māлē 'he wanted to fall down', vāta, deŋgad‿on māлла 'look (sing.), money is on the ground', vęttāz‿māлta '(it) is taken from the ground' (Mati);

mān-aлętsę̄~mān-aлęttsę '(from) under the ground' — tē meni mān-aлęttsę 'the road went from under the ground';

meritsē~merittse 'on the sea, along the sea';

muvvaлę̄~mūvvaлę̄ '(to) elsewhere', muvvaлла 'elsewhere', muvvaлta '(from) elsewhere';

ęvvęлę̄ '(to) outside', ęvvęлла 'outside', ęvvęлta '(from) outside';

peritsē~perittse 'from behind' (Jõgõperä) — tuli (pęлtoję) perittse 'he came from behind (the fields)';

pā̄lē '(to) on top' — kassen̄ on järtšü, panę sęvat‿pā̄lē 'here is a bench, put (sing.) (your) clothes on it'; pā̄llä 'on top', pā̄ltä '(from) on top';

sihē~sihēsē '(to) there', sīnä 'there', sītä '(from) there' (Lempola);

sihēssā 'up until there' — sihēssā on kęm virstā 'up to there it is three versts' (Lempola);

sinne~ (Eastern Votic) sinneG '(to) there' — tämä jäi ō̄zēssi sinne 'he stayed there for the night', siällä 'there', siältä '(from) there';

sizessä '(from) inside' — sinizē merē sizessä 'from inside the blue ocean';

süämmē(sē) '(to) inside' – elä лazzę süämmē 'don't (sing.) let (it) inside', süämmezä 'inside', süämmessä '(from) inside';

tagā~taǧgā '(to) behind, (to) in back', — empęli ūpękad◡da pagлat◡pani taǧgā 'he sewed peasant's sandals and put laces behind (them)' (Mati), vätšiä ęli ēzä i takanna 'there were people in front and in back', repo takā vętti i ülē sei 'the fox took from behind and ate the bark' (from a fairy tale);

tagāZ~tagaZ 'back' — tāl tagāz◡bęллu antā rahā 'he didn't have money to give back', vellet◡tulivat◡tagāZ 'the brothers came back';

tšehsinā 'in the middle, amidst' — kassen on iлoza orko i tšehsinā on tšülä 'here is a pretty valley and in the middle is a village';

tänne~ (Eastern Votic) tänneG '(to) here' — tuлę tänne 'come (sing.) here', tällä 'here', tältä '(from) here';

tüvē 'to, up to, along' — tulivat◡tüvē 'they came to (someone/something)', mentī tüvē vättamā 'they (impersonal) went up to (it) to watch (lit. it was gone up to to watch)', tüvennä 'at', tüveä 'from';

vassā 'against, opposed to, towards' — pūttu tēllä vassā 'he happened to come toward us on the way', eb◡juoллu mitäid◡vassā 'he said nothing against (it)';

välī~välīsē '(to) between', välizä 'between' — kahs mätšiä i välizä on orko 'two hills and between (them) there is a valley', välissä '(from) between';

vällā 'out, away' — aję ęmalt māлt vällā 'he chased (him) away from/out of his land', vęta vällā 'take (sing.) (it) away';

vęrāzī~vęrazī 'for a visit' — tulivad◡vęrazī 'they came for a visit', vęraziZ 'on a visit';

ühtē 'together' — pani ęmad azʹzad◡ühtē 'he put his things all together', seлmazi ühtē 'he tied (it) together', ühezä 'together' — soлdattinna ęlimma ühezä samaza paikkaza 'as soldiers we were together at the same place';

ülē '(to) on' — šineľi ülē pani 'he put on a soldier's coat', üllä on kauniš◡tšiutto 'he has on a red shirt', vęta sęvad◡ültä 'take (sing.) (your) clothes off (lit. from on you)';

ülēlē '(to) up' — päivä beлę ülēlē nęiznu 'the sun has not risen (up)';

ülēZ~üleZ 'up, (to) above' — mene ülēZ, peremmēz◡on ülēllä 'go (sing.) up, the master is above/up', ülēltä '(from) above', ülēz◡eb ajannu 'he did not wake someone up';

ümperitsē~ümpärittse 'roundabout, around' — jęka paikkaza ümperitsē 'everywhere around';

ümpärikkua~ümperikkua 'around, roundabout'.

§ 116. The following adverbs of time are to be mentioned:

aikā 'for a long time' — aikā en ęлę Narvaza ęллu 'I have not been in Narva for a long time';

aina 'always, constantly' — sūri vihma ain ęli 'always there was a big rain' (Lempola);

aлaлtā 'constantly, always';

aлęzī 'always' — täm aлęzī idgęB 'he always cries';

arvę̄ 'seldom' — arvę̄ on ęллu mokoma kuiva tševäD 'seldom has there been such a dry spring';

eglē 'yesterday';

ennē 'before';

enneglā~enneglē 'day before yesterday';

ēlä (Lempola)~ēllä 'before' — ēllä ain pajatattī 'formerly, people always spoke (lit. before, it was always spoken)', miä ēllä jęvvū 'I arrived earlier' (Itšäpäivä);

ēlmuinā 'long ago, in old times' — ēlmuinā ęli Kabrioza krēposti 'in olden times there was a fortress in Kaprio';

ēspäi~ēssäi 'before, earlier' — lehmät◡tuлęvaD, a voho jo ēspäi johsi 'the cows are coming, but the goat has already run earlier';

ēstē~ēstā 'before' — ēstē piäb◡mitata 'first, it is necessary to measure';

ęhtagonna 'in the evening';

illā 'late' — siä aina illā tuлęD 'you (sing.) always come late';

jo~joh 'already' — jarvi jättu joh 'the lake was already frozen over';

järestā 'immediately, right away' (Jõgõpära);

järkiä~järkeässi 'immediately, right away' — siä järkeässi tahot◡sāta rahā 'you (sing.) want to get money right away';

kasēssā 'so far, as yet' — kasēssā terveüz◡on ęллu üvä 'so far (my) health has been good';

kaugässi 'for a long time' — jäit◡kaugässi 'you stayed long, were late';

kokonō 'the whole night' — sisava лauлę kokonō 'the nightingale sang the whole night';

kęhaллā 'immediately, right away' — tuлęn kęhaллā tagāZ 'I shall return right away';

kęZ~kę (Lempola)~kęns (Jõgõpära) 'when' — kęs◡sūręd◡rajuvihmad◡ęlivaD 'when the big tempest rains occurred', kęs◡kū paisaB 'when the moon is shining';

mõhä~mõhā 'late';

nüD~nüt~nüttä (Jõgõpära) — lē nūd◡nõri perennain 'be (sing.) a young housewife/mistress now';

ōmęnna~ōmęnpā̄n 'tomorrow';
ōmnīZ 'in the morning';
ōmętperā̄ 'day after tomorrow' — siä tuлę meilē vassa ōmętperā̄ 'come (sing.) to our place only the day after tomorrow';
para·iko 'now, nowadays' — para·iko että sā kuzaid‿mā-munęita 'now you can't get potatoes anywhere';
perā̄ 'after, afterwards' — mene siä nüD, miä tuлęn perā̄ 'you (sing.) go now, I will come afterwards';
pigā 'soon, in a little while';
siZ~sizę~sīZ 'then' — sis‿tämä lentī akkunas̄ vällā̄ 'then he flew out of the window';
sütšüzē 'in the fall';
tānę̄ 'lately, recently' — tānę̄ veimmä lidnāsę̄ kaunīta sęssarī 'recently we took red currants to town';
tāZ 'again, once more' — tuli tāZ 'he came again', tāz‿isuB 'he sits again';
tōnna 'lately, not long ago' (Jõgõperä);
tōssa 'since this time, since that time' — meni tōssa kahss kūta 'two months passed since that time' (Jõgõperä);
tuлavōnna 'next year', men'ä-~men'n'ä-~menjävōnna 'last year';
tänännä~tänävä (Jõgõperä) 'today';
tänännōllä 'last night' — tänännōllä jumaлa jürizi 'last night it thundered';
uzęi 'often' — Kattiлaл̄ ęli uzęi viroлaisī męizaza 'in Kattila there often were Estonians at the manor';
varai 'early' — varai ōmnīZ 'early in the morning';
vīmeizessi~vīmettē 'finally, at last';
vēlä 'still, yet' — Jęgęperällä mā tšēli bęлę vēlä kōллu 'at Jõgõperä the Votic language is not yet dead';
vähänaikā 'a little while, a moment' — vähänaikā i ęлtī jo kassen̄ 'a little while, and then (you) were here';
välissä 'once in a while, sometimes' — tämä välissä on aivō huллu 'sometimes he is really crazy';
ōzēssi 'for the night' — menivād ōzēssi katuššī 'they went into the shed for the night';
üli-ōmęnna 'day after tomorrow'.

§ 117. Among the adverbs of manner the more common ones are:

aлassi 'naked' — лahzęd‿johsęvad‿aлassi kujaллa 'the children are running naked outside';
irtä 'loose, open, free';
kannī~kanniG (Eastern Votic) 'so, thus' — kannī on tara iлoza 'thus is the garden pretty';

kattši 'broken';
kui~ku~ko 'how' — ai ko miл̄ jaлgad‿väsüzivāD 'oh, how my feet got tired', näütä, kui miä sinū vēn 'show (sing.) (me) how I will take you (sing.)';
лahti 'open';
лęhtši~лęhki (Jõgõperä) 'asunder, in pieces';
nennī 'so, thus, in this manner';
nī 'so';
rikki 'broken, out of order' — pata meni rikki 'the pot got broken';
tšīni~tšīniG (Eastern Votic) 'closed, shut, fast, fixed' — vętti tšīni 'he grabbed hold (of it)', pani tšīni 'he locked it up';
vaiti 'quiet' — ęлę vaiti 'be (sing.) quiet';
ühtperā̄ 'in succession' — vätšiä tuli ühtperā̄ 'people came in succession'.

Very many adverbs of manner are formed by means of special derivational suffixes. Therefore, at this time there is sufficient reason to consider the derivation of adverbs of manner. The most usual suffix is -ssi, which is added to the adjective, e.g. aлęassi 'pitifully' (<aлęa 'pitiful'), üvässi 'well' (<üvä 'good'), kehnossi 'miserably, poorly' (<kehno 'miserable, poor'), pazgassi 'badly', pahassi 'badly', iлozassi 'nicely', puhtāssi 'in a clean manner', tšīrēssi 'fast'.

A second derivational suffix is -ttā, e.g. saлamittā 'secretly', il'l'akkōttā 'late'.

Quite a few cases can also occur as adverbs. The inessive, for example, can occur in the following instances: лukkoza 'locked', naiziza 'married', umaлaza 'drunk'. The allative occurs in instances like (haizęp‿) pahaлę̄, üvälē '(it smells) bad, good'. The adessive is a very common case that occurs as an adverb, e.g. ōllä 'during the night', taлvęллa 'in winter', päivällä 'during the day'. The adessive together with the possessive suffixes (which no longer convey a meaning of their own) is quite a widespread adverb of manner, e.g. irvillā̄ 'half-open', sellällā̄ 'on its back', ragoллā 'ajar', лokkōллā 'slouching, hanging down', лahgoллā 'spread out', ürvüllā̄ 'stooped'.

As in Estonian, the ablative often has an adverbial function, e.g. ā̄leltä 'with a loud voice', süvältä 'deeply', nimeltā 'by name'. Usually the ablative occurs together with possessive suffixes, which no longer have meanings of their own, e.g. tšihvaлtā 'hotly', al'l'āлtā 'freshly, greenly', elävältā̄ 'living, alive', nimeltā̄ 'by name'. As an adverb, the translative designates the language that is being spoken, e.g. vad'd'assi~vaissi~vad'd'akossi 'in Votic', maissi

'in Votic, in Ingrian', venäissi 'in Russian', virossi 'in Estonian', sõmęssi 'in Finnish'. Several examples have already been given above showing how the essive occurs as an adverb of place or time. The essive plus possessive suffix occurs as an adverb of manner, e.g. ülleüdnā 'at all, altogether, in general' (Itšäpäivä), aivonā 'only, solely, merely'.

As was mentioned above (§ 37), the instructive has become an unproductive case. In the living Votic language, the instructive occurs precisely as an adverb, and above all, an adverb of manner, e.g. tšäzī 'by hand', mēlī 'on purpose', üvī mēlī 'gladly', sajamī 'secretly', pęjvī 'on one's knees', kęvī 'hard, very', üvī 'well', vätšizī 'by force', palʹtai päi 'bareheaded', ajassui 'overturned'. Genitival adverbs are also common, e.g. tšīrē (~tšīrē kautē~tšīrē perässi) 'fast', rinnā 'side by side', jakazę̄ 'on foot', avę̄ 'open, wide open', tarkā 'carefully', tšiuzā 'out of spite'.

The former comitative (see § 38), whose meaning has become lost, occurs nowadays solely as an adverb, e.g. tšäsinā 'with the hands, by hand', sęrminā 'with the fingers', pęjvinā 'on one's knees'.

Likewise, the former prolative (§ 39) occurs as an adverb, primarily as an adverb of place, e.g. maitsę̄ 'by land, along the land', meritsē 'by sea, along the sea', ajętsę̄ 'from below', peritsē 'around from behind', ümperitsē 'all around'. The prolative adverbs are contextually very close to the adverbs of manner, for they indicate both the place of action as well as the manner of action.

Still another possibility for deriving adverbs of manner is by adding lēB, (the third person singular, active voice of the verb liđđä), to some other adverb, e.g. kuilēB~kuileB~kuleB~kuile 'how, somehow' — johsi kuileb‿voimā 'he ran according to the strength he had'.

§ 118. The adverbs of quantity are the following:

ohto 'enough' — ohto on sinū itkęa 'you (sing.) have cried enough', ęli ohto nōrīta pojaita 'there were enough young boys';

palʹo 'many, much';

pęittši : kussa pęittši 'from where';

põlittā 'into half, up to the half';

sohsem~sofsem 'entirely';

tolʹko 'only, just';

vaitęZ~vaitęn (Jõgõperä) 'but, only, alone'.

Such adverbs are also derived quite productively by means of several case markers, first of all by the instructive, e.g. aivō

'very', rębgā 'very', üvī 'very', kęikī 'all', vähüzī~vähükkęizę̄ 'little', kęjmę̄ (vellehsē) 'three together (brothers)', seittsemē (naizikō) 'seven together (women)', vīzī (päivī) 'in groups of five (days)', kahę̄ tšezzē 'two together'. In the comitative there is ühsinā 'alone', kęikkinā 'all, completely'; põlęssā 'up to the half, half way' is in the terminative.

Having a special derivation (the former elative + genitive) are the adverbs of quantity kahisę̄ 'two times', kęlmisę̄ 'three times', nellisē 'four times', etc.

§ 119. The Votic adverbs of purpose are:

vajā~vajaga 'needed, necessary';

tarviZ 'necessary';

vajmiZ~valmiZ 'ready, completed'.

§ 120. The following are the emphatic adverbs:

ī~i 'even' — ęlęizin antannu ī siję̄ 'I would have even given to you (sing.)', kase i ęli 'that was the one';

jo 'already, any more' — emā meil jo bęjlu 'we didn't have a mother anymore';

kāZ 'also' — ženix kāz‿issūb‿jautā 'the groom also sits down at the table' (Jõgõperä);

kūl 'indeed, to be sure, surely' — nätši kūl 'to be sure he saw (it)';

tę 'but, yet, for all that' — miä tę ęlin 'but, I was' (Jõgõperä);

tõže~tõžę~tõZ 'also, even' — kuttsu medđet‿tõže vęrkkaję̄ 'he also asked us to go fishing (with a net)', Kukkuziza tõž‿māssi pajattās 'Votic is also spoken in Kukkuzi';

xotʹ~xot '(so)ever, no matter which' — xotʹ kummā tüttārē vętad‿naizęs 'take (sing.) whichever (no matter which) daughter for a wife';

vait 'but' — kuttsu kęikę̄ väjē, mitä on vait tšüläzä 'called (sing.) all the people that are but in the village';

veDʹ~veD 'after all' — vedʹ miä ęjęn nōri 'after all I am young'.

Some emphatic affixes also produce emphatic adverbs, as for example -tši, e.g. mõtši 'even we', saintši 'I did get it', ęlitši 'it was after all', sęvętęttitši 'people did get dressed (lit. it was after all gotten dressed)', omattši 'they are after all', tuję̄ptši 'he is coming after all'. In Eastern Votic this emphatic affix appears as -tšiG, e.g. ęlitšiG 'surely it was', nītšiG 'even so'; or in some sub-dialects it also appears as -tšiD, e.g. ęlitšiD, nītšiD. The negative emphatic affix is -iD in all Votic sub-dialects, e.g. ei mitäiD 'absolutely nothing', ei kuzaiD 'but nowhere', ei ühtäiD 'not a one'.

Another though less frequently occurring emphatic affix is -ko e.g. tõ että mene, emmäko mõ 'you (pl.) are not going, and we aren't going either', lähekko! 'be (sing.) on your way!'.

Likewise, -že also is an emphatic affix that occurs seldom, e.g. müöže 'even we, we yet' (Lempola).

§ 121. The following are affirmative and negative adverbs:

dā~da 'yes';

muiteštši 'of course';

ni 'so, thus, that way';

eb‿ijällä 'never';

ep‿kēznīD 'not ever, never'.

§ 122. The following are interrogative adverbs:

kuza? 'where?', kuhē? '(to) where?', kussa? '(from) where?';

kui? 'how?';

kēZ?~kenZ? 'when?';

mihē?~mihsi?~missi? 'why?';

mi? 'why?, what for?' (Mati);

minē-perās? 'what for?'.

In Votic a special interrogative affix -ko also occurs, e.g. oŋko üvä issua? 'is it good to sit?', pesiko tšäet‿puhtāssi? 'did he wash his hands clean?'.

§ 123. The comparison of adverbs is of the same type as for adjectives, e.g. miä ejen enäp väsünnü 'I am more tired', pajata vaďďakkāpassi 'speak (sing.) more in the Votic way', tšedrätti laugupassi 'they (impersonal) spun so that the thread had a looser twist (lit. it was spun with a looser twist)', lentī kerkeapalt 'it flew higher', meni tagepassi 'he went farther', on tagepaza 'he is farther', üppä tširēpi! 'jump (sing.) faster!', tuli ēzepi 'he came earlier, before', panetko alapalē vai ülepällē? 'are you (sing.) putting (it) more downward or more upward?'.

Prepositions and postpositions

§ 124. Many prepositions and postpositions are adverbs as well, for the pertinent words can occur independently as well as with nominals. In the latter instance, they can occur with various cases.

§ 125. The following prepositions of the Votic language occur with the genitive:

alā 'under, below' — pani pā alā lavvā 'he put the clay pot under the table'. The same preposition also occurs as a postposition.

läpi 'through' — läpi metsä meneväD 'they are going through the woods';

ülē (Lempola)~üli 'over, across' — vetti püsü ülē pihā 'he took the gun over his shoulder', meni üli sürē jegē 'he went across a big river'.

§ 126. Occurring with the partitive are the prepositions

alatsē 'under, below' – alatsē vettä menemmä podvodnoi lodgākā 'under water we will go with a submarine';

ēzä 'before' — ēzä lunta eli jo jarvi jättünnü 'before the snow the lake was already frozen', konna ēzä jänessä üppī 'the frog jumped before the rabbit';

enne~ennē 'before' — enne setā 'before the war';

litši 'near' — litši lidnā 'near the city', (see also postpositions);

perältä~perā 'after' — perā päivā laskua 'after sunset', perält leunā 'after noon, after lunch';

takañ 'behind, on the other side' — takañ lidnā jalkazē meneväD 'they are going on foot on the other side of town';

tšehsi 'in the middle of' — tšehsi evvea sēizattu 'he stopped in the middle of the yard';

vassā, vasō, vaššō, vassò 'against, towards' — vassā mätšiä 'uphill', vassò päivā 'counter-clockwise (lit. against day)' (Jõgõperä), vaššō kupoľua 'on Mid-Summer Night';

ümpäri~ümpär~ümper 'around' — kazvivat‿kukkād‿ümpär lassa 'the flowers grew around the child', paneb‿rätē ümpär pätä 'she puts the scarf around her head'.

§ 127. With the abessive occurs the preposition

ilmā~ilma 'without' — jäi ilmā pillīttä 'he was left without the instruments', ilmā rahatta 'without money'; in Jõgõperä ilma occurs with the partitive, e.g. ilma leipā 'without bread'.

§ 128. The following prepositions require the comitative:

kāsa 'with, along' — lähs kāsa tämākā 'he went along with him'. This same preposition can also occur as a postposition.

kōza 'together', kokō '(to) together' — eläp‿kōza nännēkā 'he lives together with them', sain kokō tämākā 'I got together with him'. The same word can also occur as a postposition.

ühezä 'together, jointly' — ühezä lahsīkā 'together with the children'.

§ 129. The following postpositions of the Votic language occur with the genitive:

aikā 'in the presence of' — elkā minua nagragā rahvā aikā 'don't (pl.) laugh at me in the presence of people';

alā '(to) below, under', alla 'below', alta '(from) under' — pani pā lavvā alā~lavvānalā 'he put the clay pot under the table', jalgā alla 'under the foot', vetti tširvē astī alta 'he took the axe from under the vessel'. In front of this postposition, -n, the marker for the former genitive, can be preserved (see § 21). At the same time, the nominal and the postposition have become one whole, as, for example, in akkunnalā '(to) outside', lavezenalla 'under the bench'.

aлętsę̄ 'from below' — krotta johsi mā aлętsę̄~mānaлętsę̄ 'the mole ran from under the ground'. Even here the genitive marker -n can occur.

bokkā 'to the side, to', bokkaza 'at the side, at, on', bokassa 'from the side, off' — tšen sęizob rattī bokkaza? 'who is standing at the side of the barn?';

etē '(to) in front', ēzä 'in front', ēssä '(from) in front; for' — vätši tuli minū etē 'people came in front of me', mō̄ sinū ēs̄ vassāmma 'we will answer for you'. The genitive marker -n can also occur before these postpositions, e. g. rehenetē 'into the front room, entrance hall'.

ęttsā 'to the end', ęttsaza 'at the end', ętsassa 'from the end' — mene tšülā̄ ęttsā 'go (sing.) to the end of the village';

jūrę̄ 'to, toward', jūręza 'at, by', jūręssa 'from' — Mitro on Trifona jūręZ 'Mitro is at Trifona's place' (Jõgõperä);

kāsa 'with, along' — meni tämā̄ kāsa 'he went along with him'. This postposition can also occur as a preposition with the comitative.

kautta 'by way of' — Narvā kautta 'by way of Narva';

kęrvaлę̄ 'to the side, (to) aside', kęrvaлла 'at the side', kęrvaлta 'from the side' — issū minū kęrvaлę̄ 'sit (sing.) at my side, next to me' (Jõgõperä);

litši 'near' — tuli pędra tšülā̄ litši 'the elk came near the forest'. Usually this word occurs as a preposition.

perässä~perältä 'for the sake of, because of' — senē perässä 'because of that';

pōлę̄ 'towards, in the direction of, on the side of', pōлęssa 'from the direction of' — tämä lentī metsā̄ pōлę̄ 'it flew towards the woods', ęlin sęaza kaunī pōлęs̄ 'I was on the side of the Reds in the war';

pā̄lē '(to) on top, (to) upon', pā̄llä 'on top, upon', pā̄ltä '(from) on top, (from) upon' — vätši tämā̄ pā̄lē sūttūB 'the people get mad at him', tuli meďďē rīkī pā̄lē sęta 'the war came upon our nation', sęvad‿on pantu kazgę̄ pā̄lē 'the clothes have been put on the birch tree', vätši koppiuš‿tšülā̄ pā̄lē 'people gathered into the village (lit. onto the village)', panin лavvā pā̄lē 'I put (it) on the table', mā pā̄llä tiлā täl̄ eb‿lē 'he will not have a place on the earth', nęisi kōrmā pā̄lt vällā̄ 'he got down from the top of the load'; ahjō pā̄lē, etc. have become one word: ähüpā̄lē 'onto the stove', etc.;

servā̄ 'to the edge', serväzä 'at the edge', servässä 'from the edge' — meďďē koto on tē serväZ 'our house is at the edge of the road';

süämmē(sē) '(to) inside', süämmezä 'inside', süämmessä '(from) inside' — lō̄tī kurahsę̄kā kapusā süämmēsē 'they (impersonal) stabbed the cabbage with a knife (lit. it was hit into the cabbage with a knife)';

tagā '(to) behind', takana 'behind', takā '(from) behind' — issū лavvā tagā 'sit (sing.) (to) behind the table', ęvvę̄ takana 'behind the yard';

tšätē 'into the hands of, to', tšäezä 'in the hands of, with, by', tšäessä 'from the hands of, from' — annęn rahā naizikō tšätē 'I gave the money to the woman';

tšültšē 'to the side, to', tšüllezä 'at the side of, attached', tsüllessä 'from the side, off';

tüvē 'to, towards', tüvennä~tüvenä 'at, by', tüveä 'from' — ahjō tüvē 'to the stove', dvortsā tüven̄ 'by the castle', susi johsi лautā tüveä 'the wolf ran from the cattle shed';

vassā 'against' — meni seinā̄ vassā 'he went against the wall';

välī(sē) '(to) between', välizä 'in between', välissä '(from) between' — jaлka jäi ęhsī välīsē 'the foot got caught between the branches';

ā̄rē 'to the edge', ā̄rezä 'at the edge', ā̄ressä 'from the edge' — karja sęizop‿tē ā̄rezä 'the herd stands at the edge of the road'.

§ 130. The following postpositions occur with the partitive:

mō̄ (~mū̄) 'along, by' — tētä mō̄ 'along the road', rā̄tua mō̄ 'in succession, in order';

vart~vartę̄ 'for, on behalf of' — meitä vartę̄ 'for us, on our behalf', mitä vart trubā kannaD? 'for what purpose are you (sing.) carrying the trumpet along with you?'.

§ 131. With the allative occurs the postposition

vassā 'toward' — tulin izälē mettsäzä vassā 'I came to meet (lit. towards) father in the forest'.

§ 132. The elative is required by

läpi 'through' — meni taras̄ läpi 'he went through the fence';

mō̄tä~mō̄tā̄ 'by, past (someone)' — jäneZ johsi minus̄ mō̄tä 'a rabbit ran by me'. Dialectally this postposition can occur with the partitive, like the word mō̄, e. g. meneb‿ęmī vellī mō̄tä 'he goes by his brothers'.

Conjunctions

§ 133. The Votic co-ordinating conjunctions are ja, i, da, dai 'and', which occur interchangeably. However, in the West ja is predominant, and in the East i or da — java i jō pīmā̄ 'grind (sing.) and drink (sing.) milk', vętan rätē ja sęrmuhsę̄ 'I take the scarf and the ring', susseda tuli da juttę̄B 'the neighbor came and says'; i...i 'both...and' — siällä on i kęręta i paŋgęD 'both the cross-beam (for carrying pails) and the pails are there; en...eŋko, eD...

etko, etc. 'neither...nor' — emmä mõ, ettäko tõ 'neither we nor you (pl.)'.

§ 134. The separating conjunctions are vai 'or, or else' — tšen tšīrēp johzęB, siä vai miä? 'who runs faster, you (sing.) or I?'; dali~dalisko 'or' — vętatko лampā dalisko vohõ? 'are you taking the sheep or the goat?'; ehtši 'or, or else' — miä tuлęn tänävä ehtši õmęn 'I am coming today or tomorrow' (Jõgõperä).

§ 135. Reciprocal and concessive: a 'but, on the other hand' — kaлa ętsiB, kuza süvep, a inimīn, kuza paręp 'the fish searches where it is deeper, but man where it is better' (Jõgõperä, proverb); vait 'for, because'; ito 'still, nevertheless, yet' — jänez◡on pēni, ito pikkaraizę ännā kannaB 'the rabbit is small, yet it carries a little tail'; ato 'otherwise, in other respects' — tšäüsi tämä rikkānna, ato meni kerājässi 'he went around as a rich man, in other respects he was a beggar' (from a fairy tale), ato tāl teďďet◡süvvässä, meŋkā 'otherwise you (pl.) will be eaten here, go (pl.)' (from a fairy tale); taki 'still, nevertheless, yet' — tšēlettü ęli, tämä taki meni 'it was forbidden, nevertheless he went'; xoť 'although, no matter how' — tulkõ, xoť ku vana eлko, xoť ku läsivä 'let him come, no matter how old, no matter how sick'; ain 'still, moreover' — kuttsuzin doxtari, täm ain kõli 'I called the doctor, still he died'; vaikka 'even though' — tuлęn, vaikka eлęisi tuisku 'I will come, even though there would be a blizzard'.

§ 136. Substantiating: etti, jotti (Jõgõperä), što, ešto 'so, that' — dūmazi, što sussedā koira 'he thought that (it was) the neighbor's dog': kūli◡etti isä on tuллu 'he heard that father had come', isä tahoB, jot miä üvässi eppęizin 'father wants me to learn/study well'; senē perässä~senperäs (Jõgõperä) 'because, for the reason that' — mū tulim kottõ, senperās jot nęisi satamā vihmā 'we came home because it started to rain (Jõgõperä); sillä 'since, because' — johzin, sillä minua ajętti takā 'I ran, since I was being chased' (Lempola); štobi~štoB 'so that, in order that' — pani uhzę tšīni, štob◡лahzęd◡ep◡päseisi vällā 'he shut the door, so that the children would not get outside'.

§ 137. Conclusive: siZ~sīZ 'then' — ēstā mittā, siz◡лęikkā 'first measure (sing.), then cut (sing.)'; i 'then' — kui tuлęB, i juttēn 'when he comes, then I will tell'.

§ 138. Explanatory: veď 'after all' — tämä ved◡on huллu 'after all he is crazy'; senē perässä~senperäs 'therefore, for this reason' — bę aikā, senē perässä en mene 'I don't have time; therefore, I am not going'.

§ 139. Adverbial: kui~ku~ko 'when' — ädďä se ko tuli 'the father-in-law, when he came'; kunni~kunniG (Eastern Votic) 'until' — õttęлęn, kunni sigad◡lēvät◡sönnūD 'I will wait until the pigs have eaten'.

§ 140. Comparative: niku 'like' — mēz◡niku ärtšā 'a man like a bull', tämä niku ep◡kūлę üvī 'it looks like he does not hear well'; kui~ku 'than' — muna palľo tarkęp ku kana 'the egg is much smarter than the hen' (proverb); mi...mi 'like...like; so' — mi lintu, mi лaшlu 'like the bird, so the song'; to...to 'once...once, then' — to ęli lühūD, to pittšä 'once it was short, then it was long'; mit-toma-sittoma 'as many...so many' — mittoma sõjā, sittoma лuzikkā 'as many eaters, so many spoons'.

§ 141. Interrogative: vai? question particle — vai siä karjuššiñ eлęD? 'are you (sing.) the herdsman?'. Concerning the interrogative suffix -ko see § 122.

Interjections

§ 142. The following are the interjections of the Votic language. They express 1) joy — hā! ahā·! urrā·!; 2) grief, vexation — ah! ahha·h! aija·i! oi! voi! oh! uf-uf!; 3) wonder — a-a·! ai! ei! oi-ai!; 4) fright — oi! ah! aivo·i! nah! noh! vot! vāt!; 5) thanks, gratitude — passibo!; 6) shouting, hailing — ei! noka! ē! hei! hoi!; 7) asking — ā? hā?; 8) offering — na! nā! näe!; 9) fatigue — oh! oih!; 10) disgust — tfu! oi! sē!; 11) gloating over someone's misfortune — voti! üvī-üvī!; 12) threat — nuka! kā-kā!; 13) frightening away — se-se! seh!.

DERIVATIONS

§ 143. Those derivational suffixes that have not yet been mentioned in connection with nominals, verbs, and post- and prepositions will be presented below.

The following noun derivations are to be mentioned:

-uZ/-üZ: лаđđuZ 'width' (<лаđđa 'wide'), лакęuZ 'flatness' (<лакęa 'flat'), nōruZ 'youth' (<nōri 'young'), nōrępuZ 'being younger' (<nōrępi 'younger'), iлozuZ 'beauty' (<iлoza 'beautiful'), лaiskuZ 'laziness' (<лaiska 'lazy'), terveüZ 'health' (<terve 'healthy'), pēnüZ 'smallness, pettiness' (<pēni 'small'). This suffix is used to form the majority of the abstract substantives in Votic. The derivative is declined according to Declension XV.

-(u)Z/-(ü)Z: kagлuZ 'collar; neckpiece' (<kagлa 'neck'), kannuZ 'spur' (<kanta 'heel'), rinnuZ 'horse-collar strap' (<rinta 'breast'), sęrmuZ 'ring' (<sęrmi 'finger'), jätüZ 'waste, refuse' (<jättā 'to leave behind'). These derivatives are declined according to Declension XI. Having the same meaning is the suffix -Z, e.g. arjaZ 'bristle', jaлgaZ 'runner (on a sled)', teräZ 'steel' (<arja 'brush', jaлka 'foot', terä 'edge, blade').

-me/-mę: vęti : vęttimę 'key : key (gen.)' (<vęttā 'to take'), vöti : vöttimē 'ridge band : ridge band (gen.)' (<vöttā 'to gird'), vęđđę : vęitęmę 'ointment, salve : ointment, salve (gen.)' (<vęitā 'to anoint, salve; grease'), jaлgō : jaлkomę 'stirrup' (<jaлka 'foot'), vię : vitęmē 'swingle, scutching blade : swingle, scutching blade (gen.)'.

-e/-ę: javę 'grind, grinding' (<javā 'to grind, mill'), kasę 'dew' (<kassā 'to water'), katę 'covering' (<kattā 'to cover'), się 'band, tie' (<situa 'to tie'), tiлkę 'icicle' (<tiлkkua 'to drip'). In Eastern Votic this derivational suffix ends in the stop -G, e.g. paisęG 'boil, abscess', kasęG 'dew'.

-o: nittо 'meadow' (<nittā 'to cut grass, to mow'), vętto 'taking' (<vęttā 'to take'), mahso 'payment' (<mahsā 'to pay'), sato 'rain-, snow-, etc. fall' (<satā 'to rain, snow, etc.'), kaivo 'well' (<kaivā 'to dig'), javo 'flour' (<javā 'to grind, mill'), katto 'roof', (<kattā 'to cover'), tšittо 'praise' (<tšittā 'to praise'), mäŋko 'game' (<mäŋtšā 'to play'). As will be seen below, this suffix can also form the diminutive, e.g. lehto 'leaf', tšako 'cuckoo', pāsko 'swallow', pojo 'boy', emo 'little mother, mother dear'.

-u/-ü: nīttu 'meadow, hayfield' (<nīttā 'to mow'), лauлu 'song' (<лauшā 'to sing'), nagru 'laughter' (<nagrā 'to laugh'), itku 'crying' (<itkęa 'to cry'), tšülvü 'sowing' (<tšülvā 'to sow'), tšüntü 'plowing' (<tšüntā 'to plow'), suлku 'dam' (<suлkęa 'to close, shut'), puru 'pre-chewed food' (<purra 'to bite, chew').

-лain/-läin: vaďďaлain 'a Vote' (<vaďďa 'stake, pole'), viroлain 'an Estonian' (<viro 'Estonia'), venäläin 'a Russian' (<venäi 'Russian'), sōmaлain 'a Finn' (<sōmę 'Finnish'), pakoлain~pakęлain 'refugee, exile' (<pako 'flight, escape; exile'), sukuлain 'relative' (<suku 'kin, stock'), tšimoлain 'bee' (<tšimo 'bee'), öröläin 'wasp, hornet', rantaлain 'coastal dweller' (<ranta 'coast, shore').

-lein: tätšälein 'of this place, local (inhabitant)', sitšälein 'of that place (inhabitant)'.

-llīn: tšihлollīn 'fiancee' (<tšihla 'engagement, betrothal'), kęrvallīn 'ear tassels' (<kęrva 'ear'), pęlvillīn 'knee decoration, ornament' (<pęlvi 'knee').

-nikka: ōnikka 'night lodger' (<ō 'night'), lidnanikka 'city dweller' (<lidna 'town, city'), kaлanikka 'fisher' (<kaлa 'fish'), tōnikka 'worker' (<tō 'work'), vokkinikka 'spinning wheel craftsman' (<vokki 'spinning wheel'), puлmanikka 'wedding guest'.

-ntima/-ntimä: izintimä 'stepfather' (<isä 'father'), emintimä 'stepmother' (<emä 'mother'), pojintima 'stepson' (<poika 'son').

-Z: sęsaręZ 'sister' (<sęzar 'sister'), velleZ 'brother' (<velli 'brother'), tšälüZ 'sister-in-law, wife's sister' (<tšälü 'sister-in-law, wife's sister').

-(i)kko: kotikko 'bag (dim.), little bag' (<kotti 'bag'), tšiutikko 'shirt (dim.), little shirt' (<tšiutto 'shirt'), sānikko 'sleigh (dim.), sled' (<sāni 'sleigh'), tüttärikko~tütterikko 'girl' (<tütär 'daughter'), naizikko 'woman' (<nain 'woman'), vanapikko 'elder' (<vanapi 'older'), päivikko 'sun (dim.), little sun' (<päivä 'day'). As can be seen from the examples given, this derivation has above all a diminutive quality. This is true also of the next two suffixes. The derivational suffix can, however, occur without this shade of meaning, e.g. tātājikko 'sage, wise man' (<tātājä 'one who knows'), vaďďakko 'a female Vote' and also 'a Vote' (<vaďďa 'stake, pole'), virakko 'a female Estonian' (<viro 'Estonia'), venakko 'a female Russian' (<venäi 'Russian'), karjakko 'an Ingrian', vitsikko 'small (banded) tub' (<vittsa 'switch, twig'), lännikko 'small covered tub' (<läntü 'sour milk'), varzikko 'high boot' (<varsi 'stem'), vānikko 'drill' (<vāntā 'to wrest, wring'), tšēlikko 'talebarer, telltale' (<tšēli 'tongue'), pāzikko 'area of limestone' (<pāsi 'limestone'), sarvikko 'plow handle' (<sarvi 'horn'), vaлgętikko 'twilight' (<vaлkęa 'white; light'), pimetikko 'twilight, dusk' (<pimiä 'dark'), ämärikko 'twilight, dusk' (<ämärä 'dim, dusky').

-ikkę — either in certain words or dialectally -ikkę occurs instead of the derivational suffix -ikko: tšiutikkę 'shirt (dim.)', kāzikkę 'singer of wedding songs' (<kāsa 'along, with'), nōrikkę 'fiancee' (<nōri 'young'), ummikkę 'long piece of linen formerly used by women as a skirt', nāpikkę '(small wooden) bowl (dim.)' (<nāppa 'small wooden bowl').

-ikka: kāzikka 'singer of wedding songs', vazikka 'calf', penikka 'puppy', saunikka 'bath house (dim.)' (<sauna 'bath house'), musikka 'blackberry (<mussa 'black'), ratikka 'storehouse (dim.)' (<ratiZ 'store house').

-kkęin: tšivikkęin 'stone (dim.)' (<tšivi 'stone, rock'), rahvukkęin 'person' (<rahvaZ 'people'), ätikkęin 'smallpox scar', tüttärikkęin 'girl (dim.), daughter (dim.)' (<tütär 'daughter'), neitsükkęin 'daughter-in-law (dim.)' (<neitsüD 'daughter-in-law'), kaлakkęin 'fish (dim.)' (<kaлa 'fish'), tallikkęin 'lambkin', jarvukkęin 'lake (dim.)' (<jarvi 'lake'). This derivational suffix is the most common one for forming diminutives.

-uD/-üD: tšätšüD 'cradle', emüD 'mother (dim.)' (<emä 'mother'), izüD 'father (dim.)' (<isä 'father'), lehüD 'leaf (dim.)' (<lehto 'leaf'), päivüD 'sun' (<päivä 'day, sun'), tōmuD 'bird-cherry tree (dim.)' (<tōmi[ppū] 'bird-cherry tree'), süämüD 'heart (dim.)' (<süä 'heart'), vellüD 'brother (dim.)' (<velli 'brother'). This derivational suffix is especially characteristic of the language of folksongs.

-ška, -ško: näpuška 'finger (dim.)' (<näppu 'finger'), kandaška 'treasure-bringing goblin' (<kantā 'to carry'), sarviško 'horned (animal); one with tousled hair' (<sarvi 'horn'), irviško 'one who sneers' (<irvillā 'half-open; bared [teeth]'). This derivational suffix has primarily a pejoratively humoristic aspect.

-jain — this forms a diminutive derivative which occurs primarily in folksongs: tūtijain 'one who lulls someone to sleep' (<tūtia 'to lull to sleep'), лaukojain 'washer woman (dim.)' (~лaukopäivä 'Saturday [i.e. wash day]'), vālijain 'guardian' (<vālia 'to roll, mangle').

-ri: jōmari 'drunkard' (<jōmā 'to drink'), sōmäri 'big eater' (<sōmā 'to eat'), itkuri 'one who cries a lot' (<itkęa 'to cry'), paturi 'pot smith, pot maker' (<pata 'clay pot'), лampuri 'shepherd' (<лammaZ 'sheep').

-zikko: tammizikko 'oak tree grove, graveyard' (<tammi 'oak'), petäzikko 'Pine grove' (<petäjä 'pine tree'), särnizikko 'ash tree grove' (<särni 'ash tree'), leppäzikko 'alder grove' (<leppä 'ash tree'), kahtšizikko 'birch grove' (<kahtši 'birch tree'), rōkozikko 'bed of reeds' (<rōko 'reed'), ęzďęzikko 'area growing with horse-tails' (<ęz'z'a 'horse-tail').

-eлmo/-ęлmo: kadgęлmo 'fragment' (<katkęmā 'to break off, be disrupted'), eďďęлmo 'pollen' (~eďďitsäB 'it blooms'), ahęлmo 'narrowness, a narrow place' (<ahaZ 'narrow'), süeлmo 'wart'.

-ttši: lühzettši 'milk pail', imettši 'some sort of plant', makauttši 'sleeping place', päivä nęizuttši 'sunrise'.

§ 144. The following are the more common adjective derivations:

-kaZ: tšivvokaZ 'fibrous' (<tšiuto 'fiber'), rōjakaZ 'muddy' (<rōja 'mud'), täikaZ 'full of lice' (<täi 'louse'), sünnikaZ 'sinful' (<sünti 'sin'), razvakaZ 'fat, greasy' (<razva 'fat, lard'), verekaZ 'bloody' (<veri 'blood'), лumękaZ 'snowy' (<лumi 'snow'), ęhzikaZ 'branchy' (<ęhsa 'branch'), vęimakaZ 'powerful, full of strength' (<vęima 'power, strength').

-(k)kęin: tšebjukkęin 'light, not heavy (dim.)' (<tšebjä 'light, not heavy'), ümmärkęin 'round, circular' (~ümpäri 'around').

-va/-vä: ęnnęva 'happy (<ęnni 'happiness, luck'), mēlevä 'smart' (<mēli 'mind'), vätševä 'mighty, powerful' (<vätši 'might, strength, force'), ōлęva 'careful, painstaking' (<ōli 'care'), itšävä 'tedious, dull, boring' (<itšä 'age, lifetime').

-za: iloza 'beautiful', vēroza 'rolling', ruttoza 'quick, rapid' (<rutto 'speed'), irmuza 'awful, frightful' (<irmu 'fear'), eлoza 'alive, living' (<eлo 'life').

-in: verin 'bloody' (<veri 'blood'), vīmin 'last', viллain 'woolen' (<viллa 'wool'), vähäin 'little, slight, scanty', kahtšin '(made) of birch' (<kahtši 'birch'), katagęin '(made) of juniper' (<kataga 'juniper'), ęлtšin '(made) of straw' (<ęлltši 'straw'), suлkęin 'with feathers' (<suлka 'feather').

-llīn~-llin: sütšüzellīn 'autumn-like' (<sütšüzü 'autumn'), armollin 'merciful; gracious' (<armo 'grace, favor; mercy'), aukollin 'full of holes' (<aukko 'hole').

-лain~-läin: ęmaлain 'one's own' (<ęma 'own'), üheллain 'uniform; even' (<ühsi : ühē 'one : one [gen.]'), täütēlläin 'complete', ühessämeлain 'ninefold'.

-mein~-męin: takumęin 'last', tšehtšimein 'middle, central', vassumęin 'new', esimein 'first', aлumęin 'lower'.

-tō (: -ttomā): leivätō 'breadless' (<leipä 'bread'), ęnnętō 'unhappy' (<ęnni 'happiness, luck'), pęhjatō 'bottomless' (<pęhja 'bottom'), irmutō 'fearless' (<irmu 'fear').

-ęa, -iä: vaлkęa 'white', kęrkęa 'high', sękęa 'blind', pimiä 'dark', seltšiä 'clear', jämiä 'thick'.

§ 145. The following verbal derivational suffixes are to be mentioned:

Frequentative verbs are derived by means of the affix -ele-/-ęlę-, e.g. aigutteлęn 'I yawn', riŋgotteлęn 'I stretch myself', pilvisseleB 'it is (intermittently) cloudy', ōtteлęn 'I wait', aivasseлęn 'I sneeze', jōnitteлęn 'I run', jutteлęn 'I say', pureлęvaD 'they bite'. In the majority of verbs having the frequentative marker, the element -ele-/-ęlę- no longer really expresses frequentative action. Dialectally -ē-/-ę̄- occurs instead of -ele-/-ęlę, e.g. juttę̄B 'he says'.

The derivational suffix for momentaneous verbs is -hta-/-htä-, e.g. örtšähtā 'to wake up', vizgahtā 'to throw once' (<vizgata 'to throw'), viŋgahtā 'to whine once' (<viŋkua 'to whine'), vātahtā 'to look once' (<vāttā 'to look'), лauлahtā 'to begin to sing, to sing once' (<лauлā 'to sing'). Some Votic dialects have ht>st, hence, the corresponding verbs are nagrastā 'to smile', örtšästā 'to wake up', etc.

Causative verbs are derived by the suffix -tta/-ttä, e.g. sęvęttā 'to clothe' (<sępa 'clothing'), vähättā 'to make less', tühjettā 'to empty' (<tühjä 'empty'), vivüttā 'to linger' (<vipüä 'to stay, to live'), vaivattā 'to trouble, burden' (<vaiva 'trouble, burden'), tukęhtuttā 'to smother, suffocate' (<tukęhtua 'to suffocate [intr.], choke), tšülvettā 'to wash' (<tšülpiä 'to wash oneself'), tiлkuttā 'to make drip' (<tiлkkua 'to drip'), avittā 'to help' (<api 'help').

-goittā can likewise be used to derive causative verbs, e.g. apagoittā 'to make sour' (<apata 'to become sour'), paizęgoittā 'to get rid of abscesses, boils' (<paizę 'abscess, boil'), paллęgoittā 'to catch cold', kahnugoittā 'to freeze', sęizagoittā 'to make stop' (<sęisua 'to stand').

The derivational suffix for reflexive or intransitive verbs is -u-/-ū-, e.g. лaskęun 'I descend, come down' (<лaskęa 'to let'), tęmpaun 'I am pulled, drawn' (<tęmmata 'to pull'), antauB 'he gives himself' (<antā 'to give'), sättiüB 'he adjusts himself, fixes himself up' (<sättiä 'to set, adjust'), itšävüä 'to feel boredom, be bored' (<itšävä 'boring, dull'), tukęhtua 'to be suffocated; to choke', turzottua 'to become swollen'.

Dialectally a diphthong that has come into the word can be replaced by a long vowel, e.g. eittäün and eittän 'I become frightened', tšülpeün and tšülpēn 'I wash myself'.

Among the other derivational suffixes -ttsā should yet be considered, e.g. eлkottsā 'to bloom' (<eлkko 'blossom'), imottsā 'to desire, crave' (<imo 'lust, [sensuous] desire, greed').

§ 146. In Votic, as in other Balto-Finnic languages, a very common method for deriving new words is that of forming compound words, e.g. einä-rękko 'haystack', einä-sātto 'haycock', taлo-poika 'peasant', raju-vihma 'tempest rain', tširja-mēZ 'educated person', tuli-mę̄kka 'sword of fire', siлta-šiška 'cloth for the floor, rug', tappura-kōntaлo 'a bunch of tow on the distaff', tšäsi-värttänä 'hand spindle', rauta-nagлa 'iron nail', sęta-mēZ

'soldier', polkka-soldatti 'regiment soldier', savvi-pilli 'clay musical instrument, clay duck', vähä-voimaŋ 'weak, without strength' (Lempola).

The compound word can consist of more than two components, e.g. talo-poika-nain 'peasant woman', tšäsi-tšedrä-pū 'handle of the hand wheel', kulta-sarvi-pedra 'golden horned elk' (from a fairy tale), kukkul-pā-kunikā-poika 'round headed prince (lit. king's son)' (from a fairy tale).

In the majority of compound words the joining together of the components is not strictly carried out. Not only the complex word, but its individual components can be declined, e.g. kulta-sarveˇt pedraD 'golden horned elks'. Usually, however, only the last component is modified.

In compound words apocope of the first component often occurs, e.g. rehtel-kakku 'pancake' (~rehtelä~rehtilä 'pan'), raut-ampāD 'iron teeth' (~rauta 'iron'), tammˇopeŋ 'mare, female horse' (~tamma 'mare'), aigassaika 'year' (~aigassa 'time [elat.]'), ait-seivāZ 'fence post' (~aita 'fence'), ahj-aukko 'oven/stove opening' (~ahjo 'oven, stove'). Those words that have -n (~-ne/-ŋe) in the nominative and -zē/-zē in the genitive have the consonant stem in compound words, e.g. naiz-rahvaZ 'women folk', naiz-elokaZ 'woman, female', tūlispā 'scatterbrain'.

In Votic, the words combined are usually in the nominative case, as was seen from the foregoing examples. However, the first component can also occur in some suitable oblique case, as was already seen in aigassaika 'year', where the first component is in the elative. Side by side with combining of words in the nominative, genitival combinations are comparatively frequent, e.g. keŋrvā-taguZ 'back of the ear', konnā-nāppa 'shell', koirā-nārä 'sty (in the eye)', rehenneüZ 'front room, entrance hall'.

As was stated above, in Votic the attaching together of components of compound words is not strictly carried out, so that in the mind of the speaker there still occurs the separation of the individual components. However, there are a few compound words whose components are definitely joined together, e.g. ŋunappū 'apple tree (ŋuna + pū), aseŋturvaZ 'small ladder with which one climbs on top of the oven' (<aseŋ 'step, degree' + turvaZ 'ladder'), orjamarjappū 'briar' (<orjamarja 'briar berry' + pū), perzemmauttši 'rectum', (<perze 'seat, rear end' + mauttši 'gut'), taitšim-marjappū 'insipid currant' (taitšina + marja + pū).

Finally, there are compound words where one's consciousness of the separate components has become dimmed or is completely lost, e.g. ahnaluZ 'area under the oven' (<*ahjon 'oven [gen.]' +

aluZ 'base, foundation', emätännā 'hostess, mistress of the house' (<*emätä 'mistress, lady' + nain 'woman'), ähüpā 'area on top of the stove (oven)' (<ahjo 'oven/stove' + pā 'head, end').

Superlative words are formed by adding an alliterative pseudo-affix in front of the adjective, e.g. upi-ūsi 'completely new', puripuhaZ 'completely clean, very clean', eto-ēl(l)ä 'in very olden times'.